192

Apayao	OA5
Kalinga	OA24
Bontok	OA12
Igorot	OA20

[For information pertaining to vocabulary words associated with house-building, structural parts of a house and granary, and for comparison of words and their derivation for Ifugao, Apayao, Kalinga, Bontoc, and Igorot, see 24:Scott, OA19 Ifugao, category 116, pp. 178-180, 183-190, 195-197, and 206-214.]

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

is not exactly what is quite ordinary, immediately all sorts of questions 848 are asked: Why? What is the matter? What is the meaning? What 845 might it portend? What secret is hidden behind it? And so on. 811

Now the pagan Isneg are no better. They also will try to find some explanation different from the natural one for any event that does not look entirely ordinary to them. And so the birth of twins being a rather rare occurrence, there must be something the matter with it. Twins. Who ever heard of two children being born at once from one husband and one wife, without there being a secret behind the whole affair? Twins: this is far from common. And there you are; an explanation has to be found. Now there is one ready at hand, and to the Isneg mind a very reasonable one, it is not even necessary to enter into the realm of spirits: two children at once must be the product of two men; when one man who lives in bigamy begets two children simultaneously from two women, there are at least three authors, so now also these twins must be the offspring of three persons, —in this case of only one woman of course, and thus necessarily of two men.

Now what to do? Just kill one of them, put it out of the way, and so avoid the shame attached to the whole affair; kill all gossip in the bud. But is every child not welcome? Certainly it is, but a child has no business bringing a companion with it, and the joy of the parents will be complete with the single child; the other one, if alive, will not add to that joy, nor, if dead, detract from it. Here of course the husband is faced with a dilemma: either his wife is a virtuous woman or she is not; if she is, and maybe he knows her to be so, then how can she have a child by another man? If she is not, why does he not divorce her? Yes, but this dilemma does not confront the Isneg, his reasoning does not extend as far as that. If he knew his wife to have been unfaithful, that would be reason enough for him to divorce her without needing the birth of twins to convince him. Here he stands before an extraordinary event, the birth of twins; he has found an explanation for it: the action of a third person. This is a very shameful affair to both husband and wife, but he will eliminate all difficulties at once: one of the twins will be done away with. And there his reasoning stops, the incident is closed.

Here follow a few Isneg expressions with reference to little children: 104

Babbíñ or *ababbíñ*, when used by the parents: son, daughter, child. 601

Ababbíñ, when used by the parents: sons, daughters, children.

Ababbíñ, when used by other persons: little children not yet able 192
or barely able to walk.

104 *Anó-* (used only in G [B and/or A.—Ed.] branch of Ó dialect) or *an-anó-*, when used by the parents: son, daughter, child.
601 *Anánă-*, when used by the parents: sons, daughters, children.
•192 *Anánă-*, when used by other persons: children up to the age of puberty.

Abbi-: very small babe.

Abbăg: child. A term used contemptuously by older people.

Maxabilin: to watch the baby.

Magtaddăy: to try to stand without support, to learn how to walk. Said of little children.

Magkalúsig: to weep, to cry, when father or mother goes away. Said of little children.

Manañgósi: to carry a child on the nape of one's neck, keeping the little one in a sitting position, its legs dangling in front, one on either side. An Isneg father often carries his baby that way, provided the latter has already attained a certain age.

Pañanăn: to give to eat, to feed (human beings). To feed animals is *pakkanăn*. Both from the stem *kăn* and the suffix *an*; only prefix differs: *pañ* (the *k* of the stem being eliminated) in the first case; *pa* (the *k* of the stem being reduplicated) in the second.

C. NAMES AND NAMING

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551 Now we come to the giving of a name. It goes without saying that among the Isneg, like among most primitive peoples, there is no question of a family name. Every man and woman, every body and girl, has his or her own personal name, and that is all. But what's in a name? To an Isneg the name of a person in a way stands for that person's own self; to call his name is to call the person in question.

And so when a child is repeatedly ill, which means "pestered by the spirits", the best way to cure it is to change its name, or, to use the Isneg expression, "to shift its name (*ialit ya ñáxanna*)". Let the spirits amuse themselves with the old name, the child as it was formerly; as it is at present, with its new name, its new personality, the spirits will have to leave it in peace: they have been fooled once more by the cleverness of poor mortals, they will pester an old name, a lost personality, and use their evil influence in vain; the new child, the child with the new name, will escape unscathed.

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769 Again, do not pronounce the name of a dead person, an Isneg "takes pity on him (*alakkăn*)"; leave him in peace where he is, do

Another set of names has to do with certain happenings or other circumstances of time or place connected with the birth of a child, as has been hinted at before. For instance, when *Kábo*, a Nagbabalayan boy was born, it happened that one of the corporals (Spanish *cabo*) of the constabulary passed through that settlement at the time; and a boy who was born at Abbil while some people from Claveria were staying at his father's house, was called by the name of that town. But I do not believe this to be so exceedingly common,—at least actually, the more so that names with a known meaning are comparatively rare. I say "actually", because names that have no meaning at present may have had one before: the language of the Isneg has not remained stationary, any more than has that of other peoples. In Kankanay songs for instance, one encounters lots of antiquated words, some whose meaning is still known, although other terms have actually taken their place in popular language, and others whose meaning has been forgotten and lost for ever. 551

It may also happen of course that a certain name, now meaningless, was given for some circumstance that has since been forgotten; but on the other hand it is also far from sure that all names that have a known meaning were given for such a reason. I only mention here the name of *Mabíni* related before: the name has a meaning, but it was given merely at the suggestion of a teacher. So after all very few conclusions can be drawn from the fact that a name has a meaning or no meaning. Indeed, let us suppose that a certain *Súxäy* (no meaning) passes through the village at the time of the birth of a boy; that boy will perhaps be called *Súxäy*, and after a very short lapse of time the whole occurrence will be forgotten, as *Súxäy* is a very popular name among the Isneg.

Here may be mentioned some of the native Isneg names that have a meaning: 551
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192

Balás (M): lemon.
Basáń (M): ginger.
Udán (M): rain.
Ósań (M or F): bagasse.
Addá (F): a kind of sedge, Scleria sp.; its leaves have very sharp
Barańáy (F): canoe.
Barańáy (F): canoe.
Baió (F): stone.
Dódon (F): locust.
Xabí (F): night

551 *Xidam* (F): evening

104 *Mámaw* (F): a kind of herb used in magical practices.

192 *Pariyá* (F): a vine of the squash family with edible fruits, Momordica ovata. Cogn.

551 For the rest any name will do, provided it pleases everybody concerned. This was repeatedly told me all over Apayaw, although the preferences referred to above, either all three or only one or two of them, were usually mentioned, and occasionally the question of some circumstance connected with the time or place of birth.

551 177 Actually one finds more and more Isneg youngsters who bear a Christian name, not only the one given them at baptism or in school, but the original name given at birth. So at Nagsimbanan and at Magapta we find a *Delfín* (M); at Musimut, *Xosé* (José) (M); at Baliwanan, *Kolás* (Nicolás) (M); at Nagilian (Namaltugan), *Román* (M); at Butaw, *Siyón* (Concepción) (M); at Bayag, *Donáta* (F); at Bayag, *Faustína* (F); at Musimut, *Leónsiya* (Leoncia) (F); at Lako, *Máriya* (María) (F); at Musimut, *Méri* (Mary) (F); at Kabugaw, *Néli* (Nellie) (F); at Abbil, *Rufína* (F); at Bayag, *Simóna* (F); at Nagsimbanan, *Verón* (Verónica) (F).

Such names occur even among those of older people; in this case they were probably brought in from the lowlands, from the Christian provinces, whither the Isneg frequently went either on headhunting expeditions or with the purpose of bartering their wares for clothes and so on. Thus at Musimut there is a *Sáriyo* (Cesario) (M); at Genned, an *Isabél* (F). At Lettuakan there was a man, now dead, called *Antón* (Antonio), the father of a young man called *Ásiyo* (Nicasio, Engracio, or some other name with a similar ending). Another *Antón* still lives at Bolo.

[554] Some Isneg names are nothing but the family name or the title of public servants.

551 Family names:

Bawánen (M), at Bayag: after Mr. Bawanen, a sanitary inspector.
Bunnáw (M), at Karagawan: a soldier.
Díson (M), at Mayaw: after Lt. Dizon of the Constabulary.
Dukúsen (M), at Musimut: after Mr. Ducusin, a former lieutenant-governor.
Galiyárdo (M), at Maduang: after Mr. Gallardo, a teacher.
Gársiya (M), at Lukab: after Lt. Garcia of the Constabulary.
Xárma (M), at Musimut: after Mr. Garma, a teacher.

Isneg expressions referring to names and worthy of notice are the 551
following: 104

kalōbaxán: a name that has the same ending as another one. *Magkalóbān*: to bear each a name with the same ending. For instance: *Balás, Kolás*; *Éba, Xawwá*; *Basán, Dawwán*; *Antóniyo, Ásiyo*, etc. 192

isáń and *ébăy*: familiar diminutive names for girls in general. Similar names are: in Iloko, *iniń*; in Ibanag, *néne-* (probably from the Spanish *nene*, "baby, whether boy or girl").

Nicknames, as applied to one particular person, are used very sparingly among the Isneg. I know of only one case: a Lettuakan boy, called *Ásiyo* and baptized Pedro, is very generally called *Paláli* even by his own relatives. *Paláli* is the name of a tree, and also of its fruits, which are edible, but very sour. 551

The Isneg are not very good genealogists. It very often happens that a young man or an adult girl does not even know the name of one or more of their grandparents, especially if the latter died before their grandchild was born. When asked about such names, the Isneg who happens not to know them usually excuses his ignorance by saying: "*Akkáńko nasińán* (I did not see him or her)". 551 601 173

II. EDUCATION

It might be thought at first sight that the Isneg leads a very unhappy and miserable life, a life full of drudgery, a life devoid of all comforts and possessing only a minimum of pleasure. But when you come to consider him more intimately, to enter more deeply into the matter, it does not take long for you to be convinced of the contrary. Indeed, he has very few needs; it is comparatively easy, to quote Jerome K. Jerome in "Three Men in a Boat", for an Isneg "to have enough to eat and enough to wear, and a little more than enough to drink", and he has little work to do. Besides, look at the fine family life he is living: if he has a good diligent wife, and most Isneg women are like that, and plenty of children around, really his bliss exceeds all understanding, I mean the understanding of a Caucasian with his manifold cares and innumerable wants. 181 511 517

Again at first sight, it might seem that the children's education is reduced to the very minimum, or rather that the youngsters get no education at all, as everybody, not excepting the children, seems to shift for himself and to do as he pleases. One would be the more inclined to think so when comparing the Isneg with other primitive 871 852 881 861

lighten that of the young shaman who has to confide these things to 869
memory. Here stops the exclusive rôle of the *doraräkit* or shaman as far as religious instruction is concerned.

Dancing and singing, whether religious or otherwise, are learned 868
by pure imitation. Songs are improvised most of the time; the only 533
exceptions are a few scattered terms and a limited number of sentences, more especially a kind of refrain or burden, that recurs at 192
the end of every verse or every stanza in most Isneg songs. These traditional terms and sentences are mostly archaic, and their meaning is a mystery to at least the generality of the Isneg; perhaps some of them have never had any meaning at all.

All Isneg beliefs, whether they have to do with magic or with reli- 869
gion, whether they refer to the world of spirits or to the state of a person after death, are simply picked up, or, as the Isneg put it, "they hear them (*maxi-náda da*)." This means that there is no formal instruction about the matter. Aged persons, particularly old [887]
women, and still more especially shamans, freely talk about these [756]
things at the slightest provocation, and youngsters are always eager to listen to them. This, however, does not exclude the possibility and even the probability of the members of the older generation talking about magical or religious beliefs purposely and with the direct intention of telling the children about them. And that such instruction, whether intended or not, is sometimes really very efficacious is proved by the fact that I have had among my informants girls of barely ten years old who know everything about certain spirits and could vividly describe them to me. This is the more easily understood when one remembers that all these extraordinary details agree very well with the usual trend of the Isneg mind toward the supernatural, so that the children experience little difficulty in keeping them impressed upon their memory.

Myths and legends, stories and tales, which by the way are some- 869
times far from being religious, are mostly related by the parents and 538
grandparents in the evening, when the whole family is stretched out on the floor and ready to sleep. The Isneg are not in the habit of mak- [373]
ing much use of artificial light, and they very often go to sleep almost at sunset, so that there is usually ample time for the old people to comply with the wishes of the youngsters, who among them as well as among us, are always eager to hear a story, and the more fantastic the story, the better. Even young boys and girls are sometimes invited to play the rôle of story-teller, provided they are known

577 portant and whenever it is customary to do so; in a word, you should
771 lead a good religious life. Indeed what can you expect from a man who does not live according to his convictions, or rather to the convictions of the generality of his tribesmen? Do you think that the spirits will leave you at rest if you do not do what is necessary, either to propitiate them or to put them to flight? Do you think you will be fortunate in your enterprises if you fail to observe, either the usual signs that will prevent you from entering upon dangerous enterprises, or the taboos which custom has told you not to transgress? It would be considered as the acme of bad behavior to live as a freethinker in matters religious. You may say you do so to a stranger, you may appear not to believe our laws any more, when in the presence of an Ibanag,[2] otherwise he might laugh at you; but among us these things are very serious and they should be observed by all means. If you are a true Isneg, believe as an Isneg and practise your religion".

577 The Isneg, however, seem to be much less fanatical in matters reli-
177 gious than the Kankanay, the Bontok Igorot, and others. I have known Kankanay men to whip their Christian children for refusing
771 to attend heathen sacrifices; such things would rarely, if ever, happen here. I shall come back to this again when comparing theory with practice.

577 "Headhunting is a glorious practice. If you are a real Isneg,
829 you should take a few heads during your lifetime or at least help your companions in doing so. Never forego the occasion of par-
721 ticipating in a raid planned by your friends, whether into the lowlands among Christian Iloko and Kagayan, or among Negritos, Kalinga and other Isneg at enmity with your people. If you have the opportunity to take the head of an enemy unawares, be it that of a woman or child, there you have a splendid occasion of becoming a *mĕñál*, a brave, without too much trouble and with very little danger. Not everybody has that chance, not everybody will become a brave, but you should at least try your very best to be one. What a glory

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101 [2] Ibanag is the language of the Kagayan, but in an Isneg mouth the term means "anybody who is not an Isneg". What we express by saying "to become a
192 Christian" is translated by the Isneg as "to become an Ibanag". It is almost impossible to convince them that an Isneg can become a Christian and remain an
104 Isneg. Similar ideas obtain among the Christian tribes: they call themselves *Christiano* whatever tribe they belong to, and all pagans in their eyes are Igorot, Kalinga, Itneg or Isneg; once baptized the latter have ceased to be anything like that; they have become Christians pure and simple.

my bananas, hoping in this way to catch him unaware, but as quick 577
as lightning he retorted: "*Kinalbáw năyá áto* (the dog ate them)".
Now the poor boy never thought of the impossibility of that press 158
being opened by a dog, and even in case it could have been done, of 183
the improbability of a dog leaving the meat aside and choosing the
bananas instead.

On another occasion I had observed that a kind Iloko lady had 811
missed Mass on two consecutive Sundays; and so at our first meeting
I made a little remark about the matter, but she was as quick as my
Isneg boy in retorting: "I had my menses". This I merely answered
with another question: "Twice a month?"

It may be hard indeed for any innocent person not to defend himself when he has been accused unjustly, but for an Isneg I think it would be simply heroic to keep silent after a reproof, even though it be slight and most amply deserved. And even when the unreasonableness of his excuse has been demonstrated to him, he must be a very dull fellow indeed if he will not immediately try another one, without even stopping to think whether it may not be as little acceptable as the one just rejected.

Another custom which very often makes abstraction of truth or 576
error as we understand it is their manner of answering a question.
No conscientious inquirer should ever forget that these people are 577
in the habit of answering a question, not according to truth, but 183
according to what they believe you except to hear from them. I would
be the last to accuse them of wilful lying under the circumstances, and would much prefer to put the blame on their inborn desire to please you. This goes to show that one has to be very careful in proffering judgment on our Isneg, not only with reference to questions that may have been answered the wrong way, but also with reference to obedience in general to those precepts of their moral code that have to do with truthfulness and lying. The blame of the whole affair is very often to be laid, either on the inquirer himself who should know something about the mentality of this people, or on the courtesy of the latter: in this case they should be credited, not with the vice of lying, but with the social virtue of politeness.

A few Isneg expressions with a direct or indirect bearing on the 857
education and home life of the child may here be appended:

Aydyam: Toy. 192

Lullupitan: Said of a child who cries for the smallest reason.

Dumdúm: Dull, unhandy at work. Also: dull at learning. 104

857 *Magdaldál*: Said of a mother who badly wants to see her absent child.

•192 *Kakóboñ*: Family, parents and children.

104 *Makikóboñ*: To live together in the same house (two different families, servants of the family).

601 *Amá* or *ammá*: Father.

Iná or *inná*: Mother.

Waxi: Brother, sister. Plural: *wawáxi*.

Manákam: Oldest brother or sister (the first of all); also: parents, ancestors.

Udiyán: Youngest brother or sister (the last of all).

Ulitág: Uncle.

Íkit: Aunt.

Kapinsán: First cousin.

Kapiduwá: Second cousin.

Kapi-ló: Third cousin (prefix *kapi* and stem *talló*, "three").

Katuxáñan: Father-in-law, mother-in-law.

Manúxañ: Son-in-law, daughter-in-law.

Káyoñ or *katáyúg*: Brother-in-law.

Ípāg: Sister-in-law.

Kabírat: The relation that exists between the husbands or wives of two brothers or sisters, or the husband of a woman and her brother's wife.

Bálo: widower, widow (mourning).

Búkud: widower, widow (after the mourning period is over).

601 Many of these terms have a very elastic meaning. *Waxí* may be either a real brother or sister, or simply any kind of relative. *Amá* and *iná* may sometimes refer to any relative whose relation is similar to that of father and mother, for instance: uncle and aunt, etc. *Káyoñ* may be either a real brother-in-law or the husband of a first cousin, etc.

III. Daily Routine

512 264 Although the daily life of an Isneg is not regulated by the clock, there is nevertheless a certain order in the routine of his duties and occupations. The family generally rises at daybreak. An Isneg begins the day as soon as artificial light can be dispensed with, and if yams (*úbi*) or sweet potatoes (*kamusí*) are available, the women cook them on the never-absent fire, and all inmates of the house try to get their share as best they can. As soon as this informal break-

584 1. The use of musical instruments, which he plays at the house of
832 the girls, usually while lying down in the evening, and which are
534 supposed to have a very soothing influence on the mind of any mem-
[828] ber of the weaker sex. As this is not the place to describe these
instruments at length, I shall merely enumerate them and add a few
of their most outstanding characteristics:

The *kuribów*, a kind of Jew's-harp, entirely made of bamboo, whose tongue is struck by the finger at its fixed base.

The *axiwáñ*, another kind of Jew's-harp, partially made of bamboo, whose metal tongue is moved by a string.

The *balíkiñ* or nose flute, which consists of a slender tube of bamboo, open at both ends, and provided with holes along its length, three at one side and one at the other.

584 2. The singing of love songs (*magdaldalláñ*). This is done in the
832 daytime as well as in the evening, whenever the boy is moved by
533 concupiscence (*makibabbáy*). Such songs, however, are not the ex-
clusive property of the male sex.

584 3. The pronunciation of special terms, otherwise meaningless, that
832 are supposed to have a magical influence on the female sex. These
192 are interwoven in the verses of the song and more or less connected
with the rest of the sentence. Such terms are: *dumaripón, dumiñídiñ,
dumardarobó*, etc.

584 4. The use of perfumes (*bañúg*), usually consisting of fragrant
832 herbs or leaves stuck in the headband; although unseen by the girl
302 in the evening, these perfumes forcibly strike her nostrils in an
824 agreeable manner. Any kind of perfume may be used for the purpose, but the most esteemed on such occasions is the *malindáw* (called *indáw* at Bolo). The *malindáw* is a small tree covered with spines and provided with very aromatic leaves. The *Anán* brook near Dangla flows through a thicket that is renowned for the abundance and variety of its odoriferous plants: *siláyon* (aromatic leaves, parasitic on trees), *ditán* (aromatic seeds, a kind of rattan), *malindáw*, etc.

584 Here two spirits occasionally play an important role: both of them
832 are supposed to spread a very agreeable odor, and they sometimes
776 accompany the boys on their courting expeditions, although nothing
is done by the latter to attract them. They are:

Asináw: a spirit who lives in the hills and always wears very nice apparel; he is supposed to be visible at times. He merely accompanies the boy and through his fragrance influences the girl in behalf of her lover.

586 684 628 703 578 When *Rukkadéń* ran homewards in order to fetch his gun, *Kadáw* again had followed him hoping to give him the coup de grâce, but when the latter had got hold of his gun, *Kadáw* had fled a second time and hid in the municipal building. *Rukkadéń* had shown at least that he was not a coward: although wounded to death he had faced his adversary and tried to kill him; he died a couple of hours later. The whole Isneg outfit of policemen and soldiers had not made a very brave stand either, as the last scene of the drama was enacted in the public square, and none of them dared approach old *Kadáw*, who had entrenched himself in the building just referred to and refused to lay down his headax reeking with blood. He finally surrendered at the summons of the lieutenant of the constabulary who threatened him with his revolver.

192 In concluding this account of marriage, the following Isneg expressions may be recorded:

585 *Mańén:* Menses.

837 *Maxatáwa:* To marry. Said of both men and women.

104 *Mańatáwa:* To marry. Said only of men.

Makiatáwa: To marry. Said only of women.

Meatáwa: To be married. Said only of women.

Mańaduwá: To live in bigamy. From the stem *duwá*, "two", and the complex prefix *mańa*, syncopated for *mań* and *ka*.

Mańa-ló: To have three wives. From the syncopated stem *talló*, "three", and the complex prefix *mańa*.

Dumaládag: To commit adultery, to be in love with another man. Said of married women.

Munaládag: To commit adultery with a married woman. Said of men, whether married or single.

192 586 104 *Sumibná:* To separate, to go and live in another house. This does not always and necessarily mean divorce; it may also mean that somebody stops living with a certain family in order to go and live somewhere else; for instance, a young married couple who have built themselves a new house, or who go to live in a house different from the one they have previously lived in, provided the latter was inhabited at the same time by another family, who continue to live there after their former companions went away.

775 but they have never yet been able to see a ghost without some vagueness surrounding it. It should be noted in this connection that a *balańóbāń* has nocturnal habits.

775 But what is the ultimate fate of a *balańóbāń*? To this question the Isneg can give a definite answer: all *balańóbāń* decay in the end at
772 *Magkḗbińān*. *Magkḗbińān* is the name of a cave, the usual dwelling place of all *balańóbāń*, and there their wandering life comes to an end sooner or later. Nobody can tell you anything definite, however, about the location of this cave or about the duration of a dead body's life as a *balańóbāń*.

775 All Isneg are convinced that tombs of wandering *balańóbāń* are empty and remain so. Once out of its tomb, no *balańóbāń* ever comes
764 back to its former abode. And only the very few stay in their tomb; the generality of them start on their temporary wanderings as soon as they have been in the grave for two or three nights, long enough to dislike such a residence. Occasionally a few informants even state that no dead bodies ever decay in their graves. Nobody of course would venture to dig in a tomb in order to convince himself of the truth of his belief.

3. Causes of Death

761 What causes death? The Isneg seem to distinguish between two kinds of death, namely: what we would call "death by accident or death by violence", and "death from sickness". Under the Isneg viewpoint, however, the first kind of death has what I should like to call a "natural" cause, while the other kind has a "supernatural" cause.

Under the first head come all deaths whose cause is obvious and patent to everybody:

1. Death through murder or assassination (felonious homicide),—for instance, you plant a headax in the neck of your enemy and cut off his head. The Isneg, no more than anybody else, will doubt about the cause of your enemy's death. Here there is no necessity of suspecting the intervention of the spirits.

2. Death by accident or through judicial taking of life,—for instance, a man falls from a tree and breaks his neck, death ensuing, or a culprit is executed by the authorities, and so on. Here also the
761 spirits are not considered as the immediate cause of death. To die like that is called *meránud* (past tense: *neránud*), while to die in
192 general is called *matáy* (past tense: *natáy*). The stem *ránud*, in

Iloko, means "communication, participation"; but in Isneg the term 761 is very hard to translate. I shall give a couple of examples to illustrate its meaning: 192

In the case of death by accident, e.g., falling from a coconut tree: *neránud xapó kiyá iyúg,* he died (?) on account of the coconut tree.

Christian Isneg explain Christian martyrdom in the same way: *ni San Pedro neránud xapó kiyá āpó Dios,* St. Peter died (?) on account of (or: for) the Lord God.

Students say: *ni Rizal neránud xapó kiyá ílina,* Rizal (the Filipino hero executed by the Spaniards in 1896) died (?) on account of (or: for) his country.

The other kind of death, which is obviously the most frequent and 761 ordinary one, I call "supernatural" because the Isneg ascribe its cause to the intervention of the spirits. Death, in this case, is caused 753 by the loss of the kidneys (*bokál*): some spirit, who is certainly to be 776 classed under the malevolent ones, deprives a person of his kidneys and devours them, death being the inevitable result.

Among the spirits that are addicted to this destructive practice may be cited:

Libuwát, who lives in bushy thickets;

Xasilā- or *Xasílaw:* after having devoured the kidneys, this spirit besmears with blood the leaves of the trees and herbs that grow on the mountain on which he has fixed his abode;

Āpó, who devours the kidneys of people who die of what we call dysentery;

Mañlatóñ: this is the real angel of death; he does away with the kidneys of all people who die on that account, except of course those that have been bereft of their kidneys by some other spirit. *Mañlatóñ* kills all those that are spurned by others, he is the kidney-eater and executioner *par excellence.*

The error of such a belief might easily be ascertained, but autopsy [763] is unknown among the Isneg, and so it stands. The better to understand Isneg mentality, it should be borne in mind that sickness as such is never considered as the sole or immediate cause of death, and this for obvious reasons. The Isneg know only diseases that appear outwardly, as skin diseases (*buní* "tetter", *rasá,* "itch"), *daxóñ,* "fever", dysentery, beriberi, and so on, while diseases with no or only slight outward signs are entirely unknown to the natives. And so if a person dies from cardiopathy, pneumonia, diabetes, etc., the Isneg do not doubt for a single moment that some ill-minded imp

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2. On my own part:

In my dealings with the Isneg I use the Main branch of the O dialect, while in writing I use the K branch for reasons given before.[6] So it may have happened that, in writing down texts, my own ordinary use of M has influenced me to write down a given word as I myself would have pronounced it, or my use of K in writing has caused me to put down K's where they were absent in the informant's pronunciation.

Nevertheless I have always tried to write down texts as faithfully as possible, and now I start publishing them as I have them, without trying to correct anything, even though an occasional guttural that appears in a given term does not belong to the correct language of a given informant.

The above warning is given here once for all, and it refers to all Isneg texts that I shall publish in the future.

TEXT I

[584]
[115]

This text is a continuous dialogue between a boy and the girl he goes to court for the first time. My informant is Baydan from Tawit (M), and he calls it *maibabbây*, "courting the girls".

539

1. *Lalái: iápugnā- man ikáw*[7] *ta adú kanó ya mamâummo a nânda.*
   Babây: âwán pañalakkânta ka mamá ña ñáxan balâi.[8]
2. *L.: nâmmo ây pagdamadâmagda ña nagsiniñíñde ka mamá.*
   B.: dita maxuñgám no mapooná ñam ây.
3. *L.: mañuwáa pagká- kiyá atân kammalañín simpapaddân.*
   B.: turâñka mañuwá ka ibatâymo ka asitólâymo.
4. *L.: díka mañalunīb kiyá ittó ya nâñko.*
   B.: xapó walá xané ta ummânta kiddí ya agdalidâlīnta ña dadúma.

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[6] Op. cit., 14.

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[7] *ikáw*, sometimes pronounced *kaw*, which literally means "you", and which I render by 'you', is a little term which is very hard to translate. The Isneg use it all the time, and always in the form *ikáw*, although when it stands for the personal pronoun, those who use the Main branch pronounce *iáw*. Here thus it stands for something like "come on now", "what is the matter", but it changes its shade of meaning with every context.

[8] *balâi* is a term used with affectation; the real ordinary word is *babây; balâi* is made to look similar to *lalái*, "man".

5. *L.: bakkán luxúd dalá ńam ăy nămmo ăy nawadá kammalańin.*
B.: ăy úrăy no matańabúlan magmandármo no bakkánnō- patiyán.

6. *L.: ăy día atăn mańuwá no sissá ńa algáw ka pańibailaxubuwánmo ka asitólăymo.*
B.: ăy úrăy no sinnámmo walá no mabăyŏg no pagbusidán'taa.

7. *L.: ăy no patiyánta iyán séno paka-maănta ka apardisiyónănta ńa dadúma.*
B.: ăy úrăy yalá iyá- maxikáro no atăn apardisiyónămmo.

8. *L. (magkag-axí): dila bumanannăy* *
pĕ yô [10] *lu-sáw di babbáy*
ô do ăy ăy,
ăy bakkán mabalin no maiandăyonta ka puúán kadaăyŏ.
B.: taán na turámmo apako-múd ya mapooná kiyán manin, turánnō- ummán apakassińán.

9. *L.: nă ńa apakassińán ya pampanúkutmo.*
B.: ammóm sińkabainta ńa dadúma ton.

10. *L.: atăn ummán kada-lă no ipasillădawla ki pandá daldalĕnăn pĕ ya pańpalawaxánta kiyá lamlamtán, dimo pagkaaxiyán ka xasáwta ńa dadúma no ibbaxála ya kayátta kadaăyó.*
B.: nămmo ikáw appĕlańin nam ăy no iyá- bakkán kapĕlańin, ummal diyá abbulón no mapoonáda.

11. *L. (ag-axi): rixas agká- di babbăy*
pĕ yó subla-da ńid baggi ni dumnăy,
isáú rándā- adi taglamán
ki inapplaxán ńa dapán.
B.: ăy ummán máńaw ya datúlāńko iyá agtúlitúlim.

12. *L.: mapooná kiyán ta iyá- ya ummáń mańidóon kiyá pampanunútańko, iyá- ya ummán kiyá mamaliát kinurăy sadasaăupan ned baggi-, to ya ummán kiyán ya isugńálmo ya balbaliátko iyáw.*
B.: bakkán luxúd dalá ńam ăy ya atăn ummán kada-lă no uruxánta ya turénu pańoraunán.

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* A magic term to obtain a girl's love.

[10] *yô* instead of *ya*. The change of *a* into *ô* is of very frequent occurrence in songs.

539
584

17. M.: I do not want though, 'you', if it is like that.
I shall cover myself with a blanket here as I feel cold.
W.: Cover yourself with a blanket if we lie down separately.

18. M.: Who shows these things, if we did not use for a pattern those that lived first.[23]
W.: Your thought will be fulfilled one day, if what you meditate upon is true.

19. M.: Yes, we have to wait for that, but we die now already.
W.: Even so, why is it as if our sleeping place be bright for your act.[24]

20. M.: How can we complete our human customs like that.[25]
W.: Ah, thus I am like feeling to be the fruit of an amuyaw-tree left on the tree after the harvest, if your idea is true.

21. M.: How can we put forth this, if we do it to fool our companion.[26]
W.: Ah, we are happy if it is so.

22. M.: Ah, look only at what I say.
W.: All right, let me see if your idea regarding me is true.

The girl allows the boy to lie down on her mat, which is her first concession and proves to the boy that his suit is not rejected. My informant emphatically stated that nothing untoward would happen after this first concession. 584

Although this text is essentially Isneg, we find the following foreign terms: 192

Two Spanish terms with an Isneg jacket;

In (5), *mandar*, "to order", in the sense of watching.

In (7), *perdición*, "loss".

One Ibanag term:

In (11), *dapán*, instead of *abá-*, for "mat".

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[23] We do only what our parents did before us.

[24] Is my mat the only place where you can lie down?

[25] Yes, but is that the way of human nature, for man and woman to sleep on a different mat?

[26] Can you imagine that I would fool you?

192 Three Iloko terms, almost in juxtaposition with their corresponding Isneg terms:

In (12) and passim: *panúnut*, "thought", Isneg *damdám* (in 14).
In (13), *kaási*, "pity", "mercy", Isneg *allá-*.
In (15), *arámid*, "doing", "acting", Isneg *uwé*.

TEXT II

[584
115]
539

This text, like the preceding, consists in a continuous dialogue between a boy and the girl he goes to court for the first time. My informant is Umila from Abbil (A), and he calls it *mamabắy*, "to court a girl".

1. *L.: magápugka man ikáw.*
B.: ăwán abbulón.

2. *L.: daddắn turắ ăwán no iyắ- ya maiápug ta.*
B.: wăyyá ńalá iddánta ya ăwán.

3. *L.: ta daddắn turắńka mapăwanắn ta.*
B.: úrăy nad atắn abbulón ăy piyắnnu pĕ nad.

4. *L.: bakkánnu a abbulón piyắn no daăyó.*
B.: magiyámănta a no ummắn kiyắn.

5. *L.: ăy símpre bakkánnu id kammalańín piyắn ya mańiápug.*
B.: ô walá no andaăyó.

6. *L.: se pĕ lugúd ta bakkámmo piyắn mańilnáb ki mamắm.*
B.: ammóta ma- no piyắnnu ya dagapógap ńa gawád.

7. *L.: bakkámmo a piyắn babắy no iáw.*
B.: ô nắmmo walá a kiyắ ikáw kiyắ ummắn pĕ ĭdĭ.

8. *L.: agkǘd kammalańín lu-sáwańko úrắy dagapógap ńa gawád.*
B.: no ăwánmo lu-sáwan bakkáńka lugúd magbabáwi ta iápugtaka.

9. *L.: ăy paannắnta lugúd abbulón.*
B.: mapaannắ totó walá ya urắymo ikáw ki ummắ iddĭ.

10. *L.: sigún ki panúnutko a ikáw ya atắn ki ólo-.*
B.: no sigún ki panúnutmo ikáw ăy bakkáńka lugúd nagdamdám ki sabáli.

11. *L.: nágan ma- kam pagtuńpálăńko no dí ĭtó wĭdĭ.*
B.: babắyyă- ikáw ńa ăwán serbí.

16. M.: It will not continue if you (do not want), companion. 539
W.: Not indeed, but why is the one who is here the fortunate one with you. 584

17. M.: My thought with reference to you is true though.
W.: If it is like that, companion, why though do you make our thoughts uneasy.

18. M.: I like everything though, companion, even though perhaps my companions make a fool out of me on account of you.
W.: Perhaps you say so only, companion, because you are here.

19. M.: Ah, not so indeed, companion, but would we not be ashamed of what you say like that.
W.: Ah, it does not matter what you do with reference to acting like this.

20. M.: To whom would I finally belong if not to the one like this.[29]
W.: Anything you do is all right then, companion, as I truthfully tell you now that I love you, but do not repent then if we allow long days to pass beginning with this night.

Here we meet again with several words borrowed from other languages: 192

From the Spanish:

In (5), *símpre* from *siempre*, "always", with the meaning of "surely".

In (10), *sigún* from *según*, "according to", with the meaning of "it depends on".

In (11), *serbi* from *servir*, "to serve", with the meaning of "use".

Then Iloko and Isneg terms in juxtaposition:

In (10), Iloko *panúnut* and Isneg *damdám*, "thinking".

In (13), Iloko *arámid* and Isneg *uwá*, "acting".

TEXT III

This text consists in a continuous dialogue between a boy and the girl he has been courting for some time. My informant is the same Umila of the preceding text, who again calls it *mamabdy*, "to court a girl". [584 115] 539

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[29] If not to you.

584 My informant emphatically stated that nothing untoward would yet happen at this juncture.

192 In this text we have one word borrowed from the Spanish:
In (1, *L.*), *sirrá*, from *cerrar*, to close".

Also one Iloko term in juxtaposition with its Isneg equivalent:
In (3, *B.*), Iloko *babáwi* and Isneg *appóli*, "repenting" (the *ó* in *appóli* and in the derivatives above, 3, *B.* and 4, *B.*, is like the aw in English "dawn", but longer).

Besides, one Iloko expression, a favorite with many Isneg:
In (4, *L.*), *kas pagarigān*, "for instance".

TEXT IV

[584 115] 539 This text consists in a dialogue between a boy and the girl he courts for the first time. In the latter part of the dialogue, the answers of the girl are lacking. My informant is Kimat from Baliwanan (M), who calls it *mamabáy*, "to court a girl".

1. *L.: mazápugka man ikáw.*
   B.: wag[33] *kud mamáńko ikáw.*
2. *L.: busídmo yān ikáw.*
   B.: pazádigmo zanč ta magbusbusigka.[34]
3. *L.: bakkán luzúd nam ăy náńko ampělańín.*
   B.: námmo no ikáw.
4. *L.: sě- bakkán ikáw.*
   B.: úrăy no námmo ikáw ăy pandá ńalá.
5. *L.: atán yān ikáw no dôdúmū se pě iyá.*
   B.: tān nam ăy bakkán kammalańín kurkuriggin.
6. *L.: úrăy no bakkán kurúg ăy piyáńko walá.*
   B.: poonáńā- pě ikáw.
7. *L.: úrăy man no aniyá ikáw ya malak-ómāńko ăy pandá ńalá.*
   B.: maammóa ikáw dilámo walá ibańát.
8. *L.: úrăymo walá zinnán a.*
   B.: díyā- miyamánān abbulón no mapooná.
9. *L.: isá ampělańín ikáw ya aziyáńko manín.*

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[194]

[33] *(a)wád*: *d* changed into *g*, before *k*.

[34] *busíd*: Cf. preceding note.

TRANSLATION

539 1. M.: Prepare betel for me, aunt, put soft betel nut in it, add a little lime, I shall pick it up with my left hand.
584 2. (singing): Do not tell
'you', to a friend that there is none.
3. Ha, could it not be, is it not, 'you', that we sleep in front of one another, sleeping when there is a companion.
4. Ha, how do you like this to lie down here while the house is still clear.
5. How could we like to be all alone, when you are here also.
6. That, which would be joking with one who walks along like me, I do not do.
7. There would be some perhaps, companion, if another one asked you to prepare betel for him, but to me: "There is none", you say.
8. W.: Not so indeed, companion, but there is none though.
9. That, which would be making a selection among living people like me, I do not do.
10. You make a selection, 'you', among men.[48]
11. M.: No indeed, companion, but I say only: "If perhaps".
12. W.: There is betel (for chewing), 'you', but betel (for chewing) though that is useless.
13. Betel though that is useless.
14. M.: Could there be though which I do not like, I a human being.
15. As to the useless betel as you call it, are there any things that are not of different grade though; as to betel, there is tasty betel and there is tasteless.
16. And also with us men, there are women and men.
17. It is, they say, also like with us: I, if I sneeze, it is in a G-string, but you, if you sneeze, it is in a tapis.
18. (singing): Let us not approach
The resentment of a woman.
19. You are overbearing to me, woman,
I am really to be pitied.

192 One Spanish word occurs in this text, namely: *clase*, "class", pronounced *kaláse* in Nr. 15.

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[48] Why do you want me and not some other girl.

44: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1941 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

II. Rice

243
192
In the estimation of the Isneg, rice is paramount. Even though no other proofs of this statement were available, the fact that, in Isneg, rice has three different names would suggest it. And by this I do not mean that there are three kinds or three varieties of rice, as in reality they are legion, but that the general English term "rice" has three Isneg equivalents.

Paddy, rice in the husk, unhusked rice, whether growing or cut, is called *ammáy*. Once it has been pounded or milled, it goes by the name of *baggát*, thus "rice" as it is known to most people of Europe and America. Besides, this same term *baggát*, which primarily refers to husked rice, is also applied to a good many other things, with the meaning of "substance", "most important part (edible root of a plant, etc.)", "fruit", etc. Then we have unhusked rice or paddy that is *nabgát*, "well filled", in contradistinction to that which is *lappit*, "empty". A third name, *nabáw*, is the exclusive appellation of "cooked rice". And so no Isneg, even though he were the most ignorant of his tribe, would ever think of saying that he is going to cook or eat *ammáy*, to harvest *baggát*, or to store up *nabáw* in his granary. He harvests *ammáy*, cooks *baggát* and eats *nabáw*.

In general the Isneg distinguish between *bukakó* (whether *ammáy*, *baggát* or *nabáw*), the usual food, and *dékat* or *díkat* (whether *ammáy*, *baggát* or *nabáw*), very oily rice, chiefly used for puddings and the like. Each of these two, especially the *bukakó*, has a great number of varieties, which it would take me too long to enumerate in detail, the more so that in different villages the same variety is often known by entirely different names. It would take a conscientious investigator more than a little of his time to write down in all Isneg agglomerations the names and the distinctive characteristics of each and every variety of rice known to the inhabitants; and, even though he had the leisure and inclination to do so, I doubt if the list would ever be complete and the description entirely accurate, as now and then new names have a way of popping up unexpectedly, and one and the same variety of rice may be known to two individuals by two different names, while the same name may sometimes be applied to two or more varieties by people living considerably apart from one another.

Nevertheless I shall give here the names of a few varieties of rice that have some outstanding characteristics.

243 A certain amount of rice (or Indian corn) that consists in a mixture of kernels of different colors, white (or yellow) and red, is said to be *naburábur*.

243
192 While other fields have either a common name, or a special name that is derived from the plants that are grown in them, a rice field is universally known all over Apayaw by the very specialized term *kómān*. This term is never applied to other plantations, even though they were formerly used for growing rice; as soon as they are planted with some other product, they cease to be *kómān* and become something else. The same happens to fallow rice fields: as soon as they have been abandoned, they automatically change their name. A former *kómān* that has been left unproductive for one year, is called *balnás*. Should it have remained in that state for over one year, it is an *ubläg*. In case it has been abandoned for a long time, so that it is already partially covered with young trees, it is known as a *bannuwâg*.

In the same way, the sides or edges of a field (whether rice field or not), a garden or an orchard, are known under the general name of *bikat*, whereas a rice field has the distinction of possessing two sides or *bikat* that are clearly differentiated by name. The lower part, or rather the edge of the rice field where the man starts his clearing of the ground, is called *atád*; and the opposite or upper edge is the *arpád*; while the common name for both the *atád* and the *arpád* is *nami-tán*. The two other sides, the one to the left and the one to the right when going up from the *atád* to the *arpád*, have to content themselves with the common appellation: *bikat*.

A *kómān* in which both man and woman have the time of their life to make it productive, is said to be *napgús*, which I am tempted to translate "recalcitrant", or, if you prefer a milder term, "unresponsive". Clearing such a field, weeding it, fencing it, reaping it, every single piece of work that has to be done in it, can be brought to a successful issue only with the utmost difficulty.

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225 Should it happen that your rice field is situated far away from any kind of source or brook, whether you overlooked this item when making your choice of a patch of ground to be turned into a *kómān*, or because it nevertheless seemed to be the best available for this time, there is an easy way to supply that deficiency: look for a *kumó*, a kind of crab speckled yellow and red, and when you have found it, dig a hole in the ground somewhere at or near your field, and thrust the crab into

The Common Law enjoins that man must not: 685
steal, tell false stories of others, court the wife of another, 683
nor make trouble at a feast. It further enjoins 684
that a man must respect the rights of individuals, 689
give food to visitors, give aid to neighbors, and that 867
parents shall teach children the old customs and legends,
as well as correct them in order that they may
grow up properly.

The Apayaos have a very complete system of social 576
etiquette which might be characteristic of a high 192
culture. It displays a nice sense of fitness and an
innate kindliness of nature. Hispitable customs make
the visitor's stay a happy one. There is even no embarrassing
sense of indebtedness for gifts of service
or materials to be expressed: for the people have no
word meaning "thank you" in their dialect. When
one goes on a journey, there is no word meaning "goodbye":
no sad word of farewell. One just walks away
as if he were going down to the river to take a bath.
When he returns, even after a long absence there is
no word of greeting. He is treated just as if he had
only come back from taking his bath. As a matter 515
of fact he may have; for it is the custom to take a bath
in the last river crossed before reaching home.

The people keep their houses and surrounding 356
grounds clean and neat. Clothing is kept washed, 515
and daily baths in the river are taken. The bark of 824
the *taplet* tree is used for cleansing purpose.

The Apayaos are remarkedly modest about their 516
persons. A woman must not allow her legs to spread 834
when squatting to a sitting position nor allow her tapis
to go above her knees. Even when there are no 834

46: Wilson F-3 (no date) 1947 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5

ENGLISH-APAYAO WORD LIST

(Bayag River Dialect)

As Commonly Used.

● 192 Abaca—*pagua*
abandon—*inadagan*
abduct—*pinidyaw*
abide—*cumiweg*
ability—*cabailan*
able—*mabulinan*
abortion—*mangapan*
about—*tagge*
above—*ñgatuan*
abscess—*napalatan*
absent—*maabsin*
absolute—*maminpinsan*
absurd—*nangi-nabilac*
abundant—*adu*
abuse—*ugogan*
accept—*cayatan*
accident—*naclatan*
accompany—*bulunan*
accurate—*pudno*
accustom—*napinam*
across—*magpub-bog*
act—*aramid*
actor—*nagaramid*
address—*nagan naya ili*
adequate—*justo*
adjust—*iheron*
admire—*caycayatan*
adolescence—*magpañgal*
adopt—*pinaman or tagabo*
adult—*daal tolay*
adulteress—*manang daladag*
adultery—*manaladag*
advance—*maginona*
advice—*tulduan*
after—*libas*
again—*manin*
agent—*badang*
agnostic—*nataga-na*
aid—*baggan*
air—*alawagan*
alarm—*signal*
allow—*ipalubos*
almighty—*manababalin*
altar—*paglouauan*
altitude—*paddarot*
always—*cangcanayon*
ambition—*palano*
ambush—*magtanab*
amiable—*tumuttolong*
amusement—*liwliwa*
ancestor—*inagkona*
anecdote—*ibibobog*
anger—*irad*
animal—*iñgayam*
ankle—*pungpungoan*

annual—*tungal dagon*
another—*sabali*
answer—*sungbat*
anus—*cacawelan*
appetite—*ayatamañgan*
archer—*masa gmgwapana*
argument—*nagbaklan*
arrow (fishing)—*paltoc*
arrow (hunting)—*pana*
arrow (fighting)—*siñgal*
artificial—*sinan*
ask—*aggan*
attack—*alinga-an*
attention—*taltaligicnan*
attract—*mamasiñgan*
authority—*kinabiyang*
autopsy—*malunag*
average—*dagop*
awake—*luagan*
axe—*watay*
baby—*ingiñga*
bachelor—*bagbago*
back—*addag*
bad—*nadakas*
bag—*tupot*
baggage—*buksong*
bait—*pusta*
bake—*mengrammay*
bald—*culkog*
ball—*bola*
bamboo—*awakan*
banana—*dupat*
bank—*banho*
baptism—*buniag*
bar—*pa-dal*
bare—*damdam man*
bargain—*tawaran*
bark—*apsit cayo*
basket—*labba*
bastard—*imingit*
bath—magdigot
beak—*simtok*
beard—*iming*
beat—*tukbitan*
beauty—*pia*
bed—*cama*
bee—*alig*
bees-wax—*lilin*
betel-nut—*boua*
beg—*magadang*
begin—*irugi*
believe—*patian*
belle—*napia pacnang*
belly—*sinay*
belt—*bagahat*
bend—*magdubo*
beside—*baging*
best—*capigaan*
better—*napi-pia*
beware—*tagasin-nan*
big—*daal*

192 bigamy—*maki-dua*
bile—*apdo*
bind—*pagsulpitan*
bird—*an-anoc*
birth—*ihanakan*
bitch—*babay-ato*
bite—*agatan*
blanket—*ulat*
bless—*tultulungan*
blind—*kolap*
blow—*supan*
blue—*dinggon*
body—*baggi*
boil—*ihi-nit*
born—*mahanac*
bow—*magdangkal*
boy—*lalaki*
bracelet—*galang*
brain—*utac*
branch—*pañga*
brass—*pagdigos balitoc*
brave—*natural*
bread fruit—*nanca*
breakfast—*sira*
bridegroom—*adug babay*
bride—*adug lalaki*
bright—*nalawag*
bring—*ilbet*
brown—*pangdagdaggañgan*
brother—*agi lalaki*
brow—*culculab*
brute—*anan da adal*
bug—*itab*
build—*bahayan*
bully—*nasikan*
bundle—*bat-an*
burn—*sidogan*
butterfly—*kalibangbang*
buy—*gomatang*
cacao—*cacao*
cage—*kalupao*
call—*ayaban*
candy—*cangcanan*
captive—*nabalod*
capture—*na-kan*
care—*ayuwanan*
caress—*ipaduma*
cat—*usa*
cause—*gapo*
cave—*liyang*
center—*tanga*
ceremony—*sermon*
champion—*mangabac*
change—*sukatan*
character—*cadawiyan*
charcoal—*bigkag*
chase—*mananab*
cheek—*apiping*
chicken—*anoc*
child—*anac*
choose—*piliyan*

circle—*liblibot*
clap—*makalap*
clean—*dalusan*
climb—*omonek*
cling—*ibisin*
cockroach—*itahi*
cock-crow—*gittaraot*
cogon grass—*ogon*
cold—*siyam*
collect—*arnoñgan*
color—*bitac*
combat—*omaliñga*
commerce—*panleria*
complete—*nabalin*
compose—*pagamoñgan*
compress—*itumlad*
comrade—*abulon*
condemn—*isanan*
condition—*cadawigan*
conduct—*anawidan*
confession—*pagipudnuan*
conflagration—*seidog*
congeal—*pasanañgan*
congratulate—*pama-gan*
connect—*pagtamsan*
conquer—*abakan*
conscience—*nakam*
consider—*ibilang*
construction—*pabalinan*
consumption—*naminan*
conversation—*man u upo*

cook—*mamoton*
corn—*mait*
corpse—*innat*
country—*countridad*
coward—*matalao*
craw—*anan ananoc*
crab—*agami*
crawl--*magadang*
crazy—*nagmait*
criminal—*managbasol*
crocodile—*buaya*
crop—*mula*
crow—*gayang*
cry—*sumañgit*
cultivate—*magballat*
cure—*agasan*
current—*palon*
curve—*kiwal*
custom—*gagañgay*
cut—*a-aban*
cymbal—*maglangkod*
day—*algao*
damp—*bañgan*
dance—*manalip*
dark—*nagibat*
dawn—*paglauagan*
dead—*natay*
deaf—*tulang*
debt—*utang*
decapitate—*pohononan*
dear—*nañgina*

192 debtor—*magutang*
deceive—*mangkariro*
declare—*nahagi*
deed—*inowa*
deer—*ugsa*
defend—*pañgipindowan*
degenerate—*masaron*
delay—*tatahan ibayag*
delicate—*dalikado*
demand—*salodsodan*
dense—*mahaedal*
deny—*ihegot*
depart—*pumanao*
deride—*igagalack*
describe—*ihagagi*
desire—*cayat*
destroy—*dadalan*
detain—*immanan manin*
dew—*dirmon*
dialect—*sao inesnag*
die—*matay*
difficult—*narigat*
digestion—*arunao*
dim—*akkan na nalawag*
dinner—*pamasoan*
dip—*itako*
discourage—*sadayan*
discover—*nasmac*
disease—*sinakit*
distinct—*melasin*
divide—*uwaran*
dive—*lomgap*
doe—*laman*
dog—*natambak; ato*
dolly—*umman ka tolltolay*
done—*nakowa*
door—*gagayangan*
doubt—*magdodowa*
drag—*goyudon*
dream—*taginap*
drum—*ludag*
duck—*pato*
dung—*masiñgir*
duplicate—*adua*
dusk—*gumi-bat*
dust—*tapoc*
duty—*serricio*
dye—*gomban*
ear—*taliñga*
earn—*manglo*
earring—*aritos*
early—*nasapa*
earth—*daga*
earthquake—*yaguyag*
east—*daya*
eat—*mañgan*
echo—*ambag*
eclipse—*aliblibot*
edge—*ponda*
edible—*machan*
effigy—*pagaya-yatan*
effort—*colnit*

egg—*iklog*
egotism—*mag-kiapaw*
either—*pandangala cadacayo*
elastic—*manacnakat*
elbow—*siko*
elevation—*pagtanapan*
elope—*netagtag*
elude—*tiptipaan*
embark—*mebapor*
embarrass—*napaluyaguan*
embrace—*yuballan*
emigrant—*barraw*
empty—*ipac aminan*
enclose—*neunag*
encourage—*naanannayan*
endure—*natakitan*
enemy—*kaliñga*
entire—*ñgamin*
entrails—*mañgiparit tauid*
envelop—*imbelop*
envirous—*umapas*
epidemic—*rapon*
equal—*nagpapada*
erect—*magtunog*
errand—*bon*
error—*sabag*
escape—*magbarraw*
evacuate—*magpani*
even—*uray*
evening—*gidam*
everlasting—*magnanayon*
evermore—*pepeyang*
evil—*naliñgad*
exaggerate—*palugnoc*
excel—*maaba*
exchange—*magtali*
excursion—*magdadac*
exhaust—*nunawan*
expectorate—*maglutab*
expedition—*magbiahe*
explore—*nacasma*
external—*lasi*
eye—*mata*
eyebrow—*kibobang*
fable—*sinanababobog*
face—*moat*
fact—*incorcorogan*
fade—*nagpulcas*
foeces—*makauel*
faint—*malñgata*
faith—*hasat*
fake—*makoriro*
fall—*metacnag*
fame—*celebraran*
family—*tangabalay*
fan—*ippipidpin*
fancy—*gattokan*
far—*aday-yo*

fasten—*igtan*
fat—*nataba*
father—*ama*
favorite—*pacgan*
fawn—*igao*
fear—*nangaingan*
feather—*doc-doc*
fee—*pagsarkan*
feel—*ricnaan*
fellow—*tulay*
female—*babay*
fence—*abot*
fever—*madahang*
few—*tag-isa*
field—*tallon*
fight—*mag-gubat*
fin—*pag-gi*
fine—*mapino*
fire—*ap-apoy*
fish—*sirsida*
fishing—*mamsoc*
fist—*magkaman*
flame—*baga*
flavor—*bañgog*
flea—*kimal*
flee—*cumiyab*
flesh—*tab-bit*
flint—*bato palting*
float—*magatap-tap-tapaw*
flock—*balay ayam*
floor—*datag*
flour—*minac-mac*
fly—*tumayab*
foetus—*mabuksit*
follow—*kumiwig*
food—*kac-kanan*
force—*pilitan*
ford—*ababao*
foreign—*agtangeli*
forest—*sirrat*
forget—*alip-panan*
form—*forma*
fortnight—*mehap-pat ñga habi*
fountain—*turlurayac*
free—*libre*
frequent—*cangcanayon*
fresh—*namata*
friend—*op-pon*
freight—*carcargo*
frog—*tucac*
front—*acrang*
frown—*paldiit*
fruit—*buñga*
fry—*magparito*
fuel—*idongso*
full—*napnu*
funeral—*balluc*
fur—*docdot*
further—*ad-adayo*

future—*sumab ñga algaw*
gag—*ammotan*
gale—*naggat ñga bali*
gamble—*magsugal*
game—*ayayam*
game-cock—*pagpapalutan*
garden—*gadanan*
gate—*ru-wañgan*
gather—*magpurus*
gay—*mahanggam*
g-string (breechcloth)—*abag*
gentle—*namarru*
get—*al-lat*
ghost—*balañgabang*
girl—*babay*
giant—*haggad*
ginger—*basang*
girdle—*magahat*
gizzard—*binalon*
glad—*nahinggan*
glitter—*silsilang*
gnaw—*innitan*
go—*mapan*
good—*napia*
govern—*iturong*
grandchild—*apo-co*
grandfather—*ak-cag*
grass—*addat*
grateful—*aindoc*
grave—*luboc*

great—napatag
greed—*maglinlinat*
green—*manmanaw*
groan—*magab-lulog*
ground—*taggad*
grow—*dumakal*
grunt—*macasut*
guard—*guardia*
guess—*guttohan*
guide—*abulon*
guilt—*magbasol*
gum—*ngadat*
gut—*inalac*
habit—*gagañgay*
habitation—*pagyanan*
hack—*pageaduan*
hail—*gau*
hair—*aboc*
half—*godua*
hand—*ima*
handcome—*nataram*
happy—*naragsakan*
hard—*nasatit*
harvest—*maggani*
hate—*locsawan*
have—*at-tan*
hawk—*bukao*
he—*bagina*
head—*ulo*
heal—*mapiyanan*
health—*mapiya nga uray*

hear—*gicnan*
heart—*puso*
heart of the tree—*lacgat na kayo*
heat—*napaso; papawan*
heavy—*nadammat*
height—*kad-dadu*
heir—*ulo*
help—*bagngan*
hemp—*agas*
her—*agina*
herb—*sakgag*
herd—*huwang*
hermaphrodite—*binabay*
hero—*meñgal*
hesitate—*magpemodi*
hide—*nagsiroc*
high—*anañgodo*
hill—*babantay*
him—*ikaw*
nip—*paing*
hit—*hiñgat*
hoe—*paloc*
hog—*bagbaga*
home—*balay*
honest—*namoro*
honey—*iyokan*
honor—*patag; dayoan*
hope—*namnama*
hot—*napaos*
house—*balay*
howl—*manya*
hull—*magukis*
human—*parsoa*
hunger—*bisin*
hunt—*nanganop*
huntsman—*maranganop*
hurt—*natiliyo*
husband—*atawa lalaki*
husk—*bunot iyog*
hut—*sigay*
I—*iya*
idea—*nakam*
idiot—*tetek*
idle—*ncsadot*
idol—*anantolay*
ill—*madadagang*
image—*aniniui*
imitate—*sumursurot*
immediately—*makaro*
impatient—*awannu anos*
imperfect—*acan napia*
impulse—*posu-at*
incline—*nagpada*
include—*iraman*
increase—*nayonan*
independent—*sisigoray*
influence—*naanannay*
information—*damag*
inhale—*añgatan*
inheritance—*tawid*
injure—*iturad*

inland—*napaili*
innocent—*awan na panunot*
insane—*mait*
insect—*ililollag*
instinct—*pinarbattan*
instruct—*itoggod*
insult—*pariknaan*
intellect—*nabobot*
intercede—*magba-at*
interpret—*ihologan*
intestine—*sinay*
into —*unag*
intoxicate—*inglao*
introduce—*panggayatan*
invent—*parparbuway*
investigate—*vestigaran*
invite—*magapat*
iron—*plansia*
irrigate—*magtambac or magkanal*
itch—*rasa*
jaw—*dammog*
jewel—*kokoa buñgot*
jog—*lumakto*
joint—*pagtulmohan*
joke—*isisoro*
journey—*biahi*
joy—*anaanggam*
judge—*cues*
jug—*maglagto*
juice—*paspas*
jungle—*ginubat*
junior—*odiyan*
just—*ñgala*
justice—*magpapada iya ordin*
keen—*nawadasiñgan*
kernel—*ngipan mait*
kettle—*caldero*
kick—*ihoktar*
kiss—*magomma*
knee—*atod*
kneel—*magpalintod*
knife—*iko*
knock—*magtugtug*
knot—*bitol*
know—*ammo*
labor—*bannog*
lack—*nakarañgan*
ladle—*iwid*
lad—*annac lalaki*
lady—*pagaduan*
lake—*rabbuac*
lame—*pilay*
lap—*lappo*
large—*abay*
larynx—*baroakbok*
last—*nodi*
late—*naladao*
laugh—*magahaloc*
law—*lintag*

192 lazy—*nasadot*
lead—*ibuso*
leaf—*adon*
leak—*tumodo*
lean—*magterig*
leap—*agkatan*
lee—*magliñgad*
leech—*alimatac*
left—*asigid*
leg—*sikil*
legend—*adodit*
lemon—*dalayap*
length—*paddorot*
liar—*magsigit*
liberty—*kinabiyang*
lice—*cuto*
lie—*sigit*
life—*biag*
lift—*iliñgodo*
light—*nalangpao*
like—*cayat*
limb—*apel*
lime—*apog*
line—*linya*
live—*mabiag*
lip—*bibig*
little—*tete*
liver—*agtay*
lizard—*alibot*
load—*agto*
loan—*tumkao cukoa*

lobster—*lagdao*
local—*mepagili*
lock—*netalbak*
locust—*dodon*
log—*gubat*
loin—*apel*
lone—*isisissa*
lonesome—*nasansannoy*
look—*sinnam*
loose—*nakarkaroy*
loot—*matakao*
lop iti—*magpalikon*
loss—*nadadal cocoa*
love—*aram*
lover—*araranan*
low—*aneggad*
lucky—*nagasat*
luggage—*lakbot*
lumber—*dab-bi*
luminary—*siling*
lump—*tangapisi*
lunge—*sumanglag*
lurk—*maglakko*
lust—*pagayatan*
ma—*ina*
mad—*maluc-saw*
maggot—*olag*
magic—*salamangka*
maim—*magputol*
maize—*mait*
make—*kua-an*

malaria—*kolikog*
male—*lalake*
man-*lac-lacay*
manage—*apuan*
maniac—*nabilag*
manner—*annaurdan*
manure—*awel*
mark—*marka*
marriage—*mañgatawa*
marry—*mag-ga-attawa*
marsh—*dandanoman*
marvel—*balanni*
mask—*mormortan*
massage—*mangilat*
master—*appu*
masticate—*magñgalngal*
mat—*ab-bac*
mate—*abulun*
material—*aruminta*
mature—*malutu*
may—*mayo*
meal—*pinag-kaan*
mean—*ibanag*
measles—*caragnat*
meat—*carne*
middle—*tañgga*
medicine—*agus*
medium—*an-anong*
meek—*natalnang*
melon—*tupa*
melt—*malunag*

memory—*pacadamdaman*
mend—*dinaget*
mental—*nepaulo*
mercenary—*kib-ot*
merchant—*maglaclacu*
mercy—*kaasi*
merry—*mahiningam*
message—*suratdamag*
meteor—*bisto*
method—*ang-angwa*
midwife—*acdua*
milk—*gatas*
mimic—*inapatmo*
mind—*panunot*
miscarriage—*awan na acto*
mischief—*awan na ayayam*
miser—*panawan*
misery—*sakuadao nga biag*
mistake—*sabag*
mix—*ipnu*
mock—*igag-galac*
model—*pagsinnan*
molt—*magsikik*
monkey—*ayong*
monster—*abay aneto*
moon—*bulan*
moon shine—*bulan lumsiad*

192 **mortar**—*altong*
more—*ad-du*
morning—*pag-makat*
mortal—*magnanayon*
mosquito—*agocot*
moth—*kub-kubayan*
motion—*gunay*
mountain—*bantay*
mourn—*mangabi*
mouse—*butit*
mouth—*bugang*
move—*bumeron*
much—*addu*
mud—*pitac*
multiply—*maamamngan*
murder—*pumatay*
muscle—*tab-bit*
music—*kanta*
mustard—*masdarte*
mute—*bin-te*
myth—*todtod*
nail—*ko-ku*
naked—*awan bado*
name—*ñgagan*
nap—*matalac*
nape—*tañggad*
narration—*ababba-an*
narrow—*abbaba se tetete*
naughty—*naiclayaw*
nature—*gaga-ngay*
navel—*pusag*

near—*adanni*
neat—*nadalus*
necessary—*masapsapul*
neck—*buclaw*
necklace—*buñgad*
need—*masapol*
needle—*dagum*
neglect—*igsanan*
neighbor—*kasuba*
nephew—*amanakan*
nerve—*palsi*
nest—*socbot*
net (fishing)—*tab-bukul*
net (hunting)—*baracbac*
never—*nasulit*
news—*dumag*
next—*sumagunod*
nice—*napiapacnang*
nick-name—*isa ngahan*
niece—*amanakan babay*
neigh—*aggoni na cabalyo*
night—*hub-bi*
nipple—*buñgay*
no—*ak-han*
noble—*cangatuan*
nod—*mogdankok*
noise—*pagat*
none—*awan*
nonsense—*awan am amo*
noon—*gidam*
north—*ñgatu*

not—*iyac*
nothing—*awanin*
notion—*tanabunyan*
nose—*igong*
notch—*amtauan*
now—*idiyin*
nude—*cat-cat*
numb—*nabarbarinag*
number—*kaaddu*
nuptial—*sa-uca maguat tawa.*
nurse—*nars*
obedient—*nalagpat*
obey—*anugan*
oblige—*hinurog*
observe—*sisinan*
occasion—*paginoman*
occupy—*occuparan*
odd—*among*
on—*ngin*
once—*mamiran*
onion—*onyon*
only—*sisla*
open—*lyctan*
opportunity—*timpo*
orchard—*abagatan*
orchid—*tagagau*
order—*bilin*
origin—*nag-gayatan*
ornament—*mangogsiya*
orphan—*ulila*
other—*dad-duma*
our—*dacami*
ourselves—*sicsicami*
out—*na-aot*
outlaw—*bandido*
ovary—*alung-ganaan*
overpower—*mangababac*
owe—*utang*
own—*kua*
oyster—*sisip*
pack—*cupagan*
package—*pan-it*
paddle—*pilluga*
pain—*natakit*
pair—*paris*
palate—*dacag*
pale—*nalumlumad*
pal—*amam mo*
palsy—*pagi*
panic—*pamanansing*
pant—*sapon*
papa—*ama*
parch—*magbil-bilag*
pardon—*dispinsaran*
pare—*apetan*
parley—*pag-ong*
partake—*meraman*
particle—*makimoc*
part—*parte*
partner—*abulen*
party—*sayam*

192 **pass**—*mangwa*
past—*nabalin*
pasture—*magpasture*
paternal—*mag-tal-lad*
path—*dalen*
patience—*annus*
pauper—*pobre nga tulay*
paw—*sipit lagdaw*
pay—*bayad*
peace—*magsoko*
peak—*sigad*
peck—*enogpat*
peep—*maglamdaw*
penalty—*basul*
people—*tulay*
perfect—*awan basol*
perhaps—*alim-bawa*
peril—*macasmac ca nadukec*
permit—*palubosan*
person—*tulay*
perspire—*liñgat*
persuade—*pinasoot*
pest—*pisti*
pestle—*allo*
pet—*iñgayman*
picture—*litrato*
pigeon—*manok*
pigmy—*ababa tolay*
pile—*garogad*
pimple—*aridong*
pinch—*ad-latan*
pipe—*suako*
pit—*dogmo*
pity—*alalakan*
place—*giyan*
plain—*tanap*
planet—(*no term*)
plantation—*mulaan*
plate—*plato*
play—*maglalanag*
please—*nagyaman*
pond—*polrok*
pool—*ekayod*
poor—*pobre*
pork—*loblob*
pot—*bañga*
potato—*amosi americana*
pouch—*bulsa*
pound—*magbayo*
practice—*padasan*
pray—*magluwalo*
precipice—*bagi*
pregnant—*nabok-sit*
prparation—*sagana*
pretty—*napia*
prevent—*accan ipalubos*
prey—*anan*
priest—*padi*
primitive—*namokod*
prize—*bayad*
procure—*impañgaña*

produce—*ipaltowad*
profit—*kinasupapek*
property—*ko-kua*
prophet—*abang*
protect—*lipdan*
protest—*mangparbo*
public—*publico*
pull—*goyodan*
pullet—*Pippiak*
purchase—*ilako*
pure—*pudno*
purgative—*purga*
push—*ito-lin*
put—*ipay*
quarrel—*magbaal*
quick—*magkaro*
raft—*gahit*
rage—*cusec-cot*
rain—*odan*
raise—*iñgato*
ram—*kiaw*
ransom—*benayaden*
rare—*taggit*
rat—*olag*
rattan—*battat*
rattan fruit—*uway*
ravine—*sibutbug*
raw—*namata*
read—*magbasa*
rear—*magpatul-li*
reason—*rason*
rebuke—*ulis-san*
receive—*awatan*
recall—*ayaban* manin
recent—*baro*
reduce—*assayan*
refuse—*addi*
regret—*pac-gan*
relate—*ihagi*
relative—*kabagiyan*
relish—*napalubusan*
remain—*nabanm*
remedy—*pamacyanan*
remember—*luglagipan*
remove—*apaunan*
repent—*nahappoli*
reprove—*nasan*
reptile—*id-daw*
rescue—*magid-dap*
resent—*nito*
reside—*magiyan*
resolve—*ipagube*
respect—*daydayawan*
rest—*magimang*
resume—*inage*
retain—*bansiyan*
retaliate—*intugat*
retire—*naucut*
return—*magallian*
revere—*pangegalan*
rice—*ammay*
rich—*baknang*

192 ride—*maglugan*
roll—*ipolin*
room—*cuarto*
rooster—*awitan*
rope—*tali*
rough—*nagurad*
round—*libboto*
route—*dalan*
row—*batog*
rub—*lolodan*
run—*tumaray*
rum—*poto*
ruthless—*mabogog*
sack—*midyas lalaki*
sacred—*panglangad apo*
sad—*lamlamodo*
sale—*lako*
salt—*asin*
sand—*ginat*
sanitation—*pinagdalos*
sap—*sopsopin*
satisfy—*napnap*
savage—*ar-ran*
say—*nana*
scab—*apet*
scalp—*lub-lub-ulo*
scant—*adu*
scarce—*taggit*
scene—*anti-cot*
scent—*am-may*
scoop—*aclo*
scowl—*bemnog-gong*
scrape—*kirweran*
secret—*secreto*
secure—*asma*
seed—*bohal*
seek—*sapulan*
seize—*no term*
sell—*ilako*
send—*ipaoit*
sense—*naham*
separate—*isibna*
serious—*icurcurog*
service—*badang*
set—*nagtagao*
settle—*umlad*
severe—*nasamñga*
sex—*kina-tao*
shadow—*aviniui*
shame—*aliyao*
sharp—*natadam*
shave—*magikuning*
she—*ag-gina*
shell—*sawit*
shelter—*lidom*
shield—*alatag*
shine—*sumilang or sumimag*
shoot—*paltogan*
short—*ababba*
shoulder—*abaga*
shout—*umarkit*

show—*ipassiñgan*
shower—*arikamo*
shut—*gippan*
shy—*nahaliyao*
sick—*magtahit*
side—*behat*
sight—*nasiñgan*
sign—*singyas*
silver—*samparado*
similar—*barbaray mag pada*
sin—*basal*
sincere—*pudpudno*
sing—*magkansion*
single—*sissa*
sirrup—*no term*
sure—*pudno*
skeleton—*tolang*
skin—*cudil*
skull—*tulang ulo*
sky—*añgodo*
slap—*tappitan*
slay—*mamasi*
sleep—*matudog*
slice—*lagipen*
slide—*nalikorat*
slow—*mabayag*
small—*tette*
smart—*naturad*
smell—*laban*
smile—*umesam*
smith—*panday*
smoke—*manabako*
snag—*nagkansion*
snail—*barikoko*
snake—*ba-lat*
snare—*sikwat*
sneeze—*banan*
snout—*bang-gang*
soap—*sabon*
sob—*umibig*
sober—*maduken-yaga*
soft—*nañgalog*
sole—*tomang sapatus*
solid—*sibbakal*
some—*doddoma*
somewhere—*panda ñga lugar*
son—*anak ñga lalaki*
song—*kansiyon*
soon—*daddarina*
soot—*gam-mot*
sorrow—*ladladiñgit*
soul—*cararuwa*
soup—*digo*
sow—*bunubon*
space—*lugar*
spank—*dispagan*
soup—*dig-go limpa*
spear (hunting)—*siñgal*
spear (fishing)—*say-ang*
spear—*paltop*

spectator—*magbayboya*
speech—*dikorso*
spill—*ibuc-buc*
spit—*maglotab*
spirit—*adudua*
splinter—*pagsiwsiw*
spoil—*pinamon*
spot—*labang*
spring—*rabrab*
squash—*arabasa*
squat—*magmarisoho*
stab—*bagkoñgan*
stair—*dadaksiyan*
stand —*magsihad*
star—*bitiwan*
start—*magrabbowat*
starve—*magbisin*
stay—*maggiyan*
steel—*gim-mit*
step—*dammay*
sterile—*nagamuan*
stern—*iñgato*
stiff—*umitar*
still—*pahamla*
sting—*silod*
stink—*sinilid*
stomach—*sinay*
stone—*bato*
stoop—*makokobbo*
stop—*umibbat*
store—*tinda*
storm—*pag-aged*
story—*ibobog*
stove—*dapog*
straight—*natunong*
strange—*tatangngeli*
strangle—*aptugan*
stray—*bulat-to*
stream—*awiweg*
strength—*ulnit*
strike—*gangñgatan*
string—*lubid*
strip—*pedec*
strong—*nakulnit*
stump—*tunged*
sty—*sil-lod*
substitute—*pata-li*
succeed—*nagasat*
suck—*sumuso*
suffer—*magikam*
suffocate—*mapso*
sugar—*sucar*
sugar cane—*unat*
suicide—*magpat-tal*
sum—*dagup*
sun—*mata*
surround—*malebot*
swallow—*talnan*
swamp—*lipaw*
swear—*magsapata*
sweat—*liñgat*
sweet—*nadañgin*

swell—*lumanat*
swim—*manalog*
swing—*swing*
table—*lamesa*
taboo—*bawal*
tail—*addado*
take—*al-luc*
talk—*maguni*
tame—*mag-paaga*
tap—*tarugtugan*
tear—*picsiyan*
teeth—*ñgipin*
tell—*ab-baga*
terrible—*nakan-anansing*
test—*ramanan*
thank—*salamat*
thatch—*atap*
the—*ye*
theirs—*itoni*
them—*ag-gida*
they—*ag-gida*
thick—*nucnag*
thigh—*lap-pu*
thin—*naniwang*
thing—*alicaman*
think—*damdamman*
thirst—*naw-iwaw*
this—*did-di*
those—*da-toni*
thread—*kapat*
throat—*barukob-boc*
throw—*ib-ñgat*
thrust—*itaggad*
thunder—*ad-aog*
tickle—*kilac*
tie—*igpat*
tighten—*ig-tan*
time—*uras*
toad—*bayac*
tobacco—*tabacco*
today—*idi ñga algaw*
tomato—*camait*
toe—*kureremang biñgel*
tongue—*dlia*
tool—*aruminta*
top—*dahay*
torch—*in-teg*
tortoise—*bisucal*
touch—*imman*
toy—*ay-ayam*
track—*tag-ni*
trade—*mañgal-liag*
trail—*dalen ahan kalsada*
translate—*ib-baka*
trap—*bwac-bac*
travel—*mag-duc-dac-dac*
treasure—*masmac*
tree—*ka-yu*
tree (large poison)—*abay-kayu*
tree (small poison)—*bit-tic kayu*

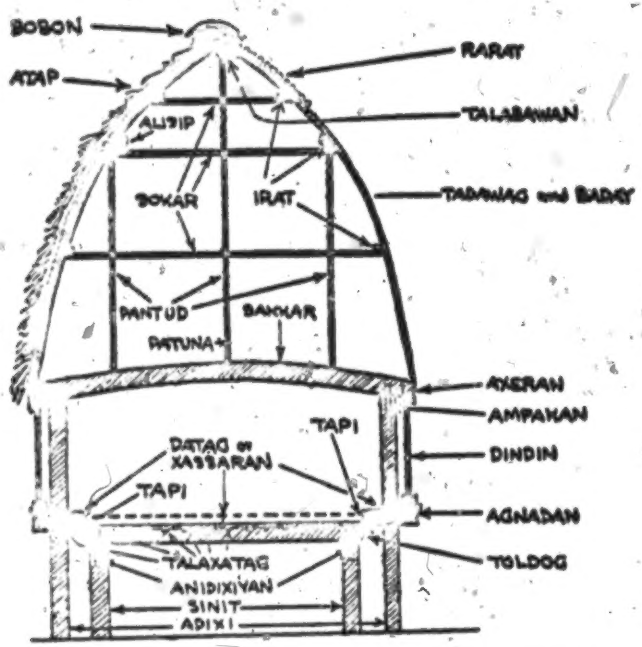
tribe—*tanga-illian*
trick—*salamangca*
trip—*biahi*
true—*kurog*
truth—*kur-korug*
turtle—*pad-ong*
task—*tarabaho*
twig—*pasanga*
twilight—
twin—*siñgin*
typhoon—*bag-yaw*
ugly—*nadakec*
uncle—*ulitug*
under—*linong*
understand—*am-muan*
upward—*ialingod-da*
urine—*pus-sag*
us—*dacam-mi*
utensil—*arigañgot*
vein—*uhat*
vegetable—*tagil-pa*
vein—*uhat*
venison—*tapa-ugta*
vine—*las-sia*
vine (poison)—*mawini*
vinegar—*las sam*
volcano—*volcano*
vomit—*ut-ta*
wag—*mañgwihiwi*
waist—*ab-bac*
wait—*id-dagan*
wake—*bumañgon*
walk—*manab-bon*
want—*mi-log*
war—*huoat*
warm—*napasu*
warrior—*ki-a-a*
wash—*ugat*
watch—*idag-gan*
water—*danon*
waterfall—*suday*
wax—*li-lin*
way—*dalen*
we—*dac-tada*
weak—*nahapsut*
wealth—*nabac-nang*
wean—*mamis-su*
weather—*tiamu*
wedding—*mangakit*
weight—*gino*
well—*napiyanan*
west—*al-lod*
what—*nagan-na*
where—*hayana*
while—*sekara*
whip—*ba-ut*
whisper—*magar-aratat*
who—*in-naton*
whole—*ngam-min*
why—*taan-na*
wild—*ditalun*
widow—*bokod*

192

wife—*at-tawa*
win—*nañgabac*
wind—*bally*
wine—*bas-si*
winnow—*lalaindawan*
wisdom—*cagamac*
woman—*bac-bacat*
womb—*ohi*
woo—*dum-dam man*
work—*tarabaho*
wound—*taliñgu*
wrap—*bugot*
wrist—*pongpongowan*
wrong—*sab-bag*
yam—*ubi*
yank—*bac-lat*
yawn—*macuyab*
yell—*an-ta-wac*
yelp—*añga-lac*
yes—*o-o*
yesterday—*kahedamen*
yolk—*balab-bagat iclag*
yonder—*diman*
you—*ikaw*
young—*baho tulay*
zigzag—*nakiwal*

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao
Apayao OA5
Isneg

341
342
335
192


BOBON
RARAT
ATAP
TALABAWAN
ALIJIP
SOKAR
IRAT
TADAWAG and BADKY
PANTUD
BAKKAR
PATUNA
AXERAN
AMPAXAN
TAPI
DINDIN
DATAG or XASSARAN
TAPI
AGNADAN
TALAXATAG
TOLDOG
ANIDIXIYAN
SINIT
ADIXI

[114] [113] *Fig. 6.* - Isneg *binuron*-style house. The diagram is a composite of an unoccupied house built about 1905 in *barrio* Magabta, Kabugao, and another unoccupied house in *sitio* Malitaw, Namultugan, examined on 18-20 April 1956; terminology taken from "Isneg Buildings" by Morice Vanoverberg, CICM, *The Philippine Journal of Science*, Vol. 82, No. 1 (March 1953), pp. 77-108.

Southern Strain. Each of these two long girders (*anadixiyan*) is mortised into the top of three posts (*sinit*) which elevate the floor to about the height of a man's shoulder, and across these girders are eleven floor joists (*toldog*). The actual flooring (*datag* or *xassaran*), however, is a mat of bamboo grass or rattan, and it rests on a series of thin laths (*talaxatag*) mortised into the upper surface of the joists, parallel, therefore, to the girders beneath. Also riding on the joists are two longi- [824]

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao
Apayao OA5
Isneg

tudinal beams or stringers *(tapi)* whose top surface is 341
about three inches higher than the flooring and into which 342
are mortised, at the same level, four longer crossbeams 335
(agnadan)—two at one end of the house and two at 192
the other—which protrude a foot of more beyond the ends of the joists. Mortised into the outer ends of these crossbeams are their horizontal equivalent, sills into which the base of the wall-boards *(dingding)* are rabbeted; and between these sills and the parallel stringers short laths are also mortised to support a sort of flooring platform or seat about a foot wide along both sides of the house.

A remarkable feature of the Isneg house is the way in 342
which the roof is supported on posts which are set in the 335
ground *outside* the floor-supporting posts but *inside* the 192
wooden walls of the house, passing up through the little side platforms. These six posts *(adixi)* carry two longitudinal beams *(ampakan)*, while three crossbeams *(sakkar)* are mortised into either the posts themselves or the *ampakan*-beams. Fitted into the outer ends of these crossbeams are longitudinal beams serving both as a base for the rafters *(tadawag* and *baday)* and as the upper track for the wall-boards, the appropriate groove being deep enough to allow the boards themselves to be lifted up and slipped out of the lower groove so that the house can be converted into a kind of open covered platform. From the crossbeams also rise a kingpost *(patuna* or *pantud)* and two queenposts *(pantud)*, across which are three tiebeams *(sokar)* terminating in three purlins *(irat)* on each inner face of roof, which is a base of reeds *(rarat)* to which the grass roofing *(atap)* is lashed. The [824]
rafters themselves, alternately wood and reed, are bowed into a graceful arc, and rise to a ridgepole *(talabawan)*

342 335 which protrudes beyond the ends of the house to protect
192 the smoke holes in the gables.

824 The Isneg house not being square in plan, its opposite
341 ends are quite different from one another. At
342 one end, just outside but a bit higher than the transverse
335 beam into which the upper ends of the wall-boards are
[824] rabbeted, is another transverse beam whose upper edge is grooved to receive a second tier of wall boards which close the upper section of the gable save for a few feet at the top which are left open as a smoke hole or only loosely covered with horizontal bamboo. The other end of the house terminates in a kind of transverse platform or annex with a lean-to roof up against the gable itself; at the outer two corners of this little annex, in line with the full width of the building, are two more *sinit*-posts under the wall itself, a circumstance which has led some observers to report with slightly dramatic exaggeration that the floor, walls and roof of the Isneg house are supported on three separate sets of posts. The floor of
[513] this annex is slightly higher than even the little side
[562] platforms of the house proper; Cole reported fifty years ago that it was a special sleeping area for men,[104] and H. Otley Beyer recalls that women were not even allowed
342 to set foot there.[105] In the long sides of the house three or four windows are produced simply by omitting some of the wall-boards; since the door opens into one of these sides, however, it might be more appropriate to refer to it as the "front" rather than "side".
[417] Entrance is gained by means of a permanent short flight of steps or ladder.

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[113] [104] Cole, Fay-Cooper, "Distribution of the Non-Christian Tribes of Northwest Luzon," *American Anthropologist*, new series, Vol. XI, No. 3 (July-September 1909), p. 347.

[105] Personal statement during interview in Manila on Feb. 19, 1962.

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao OA19
Apayao OA5
Igorot OA20
Nabaloi
Bontok OA12
Philippines OA1

I

lects (e.g., Ilocano *balay,* Cagayan Negrito *bali',* Ibanag P
bale) and pretty generally throughout the Philip- 197
pines (e.g., Mandayan *baey,* Tagalog *bahay*) — to say
nothing of far Polynesia (e.g., Hawaiian *hale,* Samoan B
fali). The Bontocs, however, call their houses *afong.* [192]

Bawi is another pan-Montane word which certain- I
ly appears to be cognate with *bali,* yet in almost all B
dialects both words are present and the distinction be- 197
tween them consistent — *bali* is "house" and *bawi* is 342
"hut". More specifically, a *bawi* is a temporary or I
casual shelter like a campsite; in no dialect is it ap- B 197
plied to buildings permanently occupied as dwellings. 361
An element of permanence is incidentally lent some of B
the *bawi* in the Bontoc area because of the fact that [178]
such look-out or omen-seeking campsites on the ridges [726]
outside the town limits were prominent features of war- [788]
fare in the old head-taking days, and trips to such sites [778]
have nowadays been fossilized into religious ceremonies
which make the *bawi* somewhat shrinelike. Travelers I B
who find themselves in between settlements at nightfall [485]
or in the face of threatening thunder-heads may build [461]
a grass *bawi,* and so might workers who have to stay [342]
all day in the hot sun in the fields. In Apayao the same A
term is applied to the simple roof erected over a black- 197
smith's forge. But generally, huts which have even a 192
small permanent role to play in the community life are [343]
not called *bawi;* in Kalinga and Apayao, for example, [342]
sheds or shelters in the fields from which children scare [361]
birds away from the crops are called *sigay,* and in Ben- Ig
guet *abulan.* The Nabaloi do not use the word *bawi* 192
for a campsite hut as such, but have the term as a
verbal stem which underscores its basic meaning — to 197

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao OA19
Apayao OA5
Isneg
Kalinga OA24

Manangol, houses whose long girders are supported on K
six posts and houses whose floor joists are cut into the 192
posts that support the roof are both called *'olub*. The big 342
octagonal houses are called by various names (e.g., *kinipas*
in Tanglag, *ginitob* in Dakalan), but *binayon* or *finaryon*
is understood through most of Chico Kalinga. It A
may be noteworthy that the Isneg call their big houses, K
which are certainly anything but octagonal, *binuron*, 192
and that while modern Kalinga informants distinguish 342
their octagonal houses as being "round" or "eight-sided",
older natives characterize them as "big and wooden".
There is also a tendency in the common speech of eastern
Kalinga and Conner district of Apayao to distinguish the
big houses from the *kulub* as *balay*.

Comparison of the terminology of structural parts I
discloses only a few which are pan-Montane, and these 192
happen also to be pan-Philippine. The cross-thatching 342
which forms the ridging of the roof is called *bubong* 171
(bobon) from Ifugao to Kabugao and the ridgepole 197
supporting it *bobongan, panabfongan, pamabbongan,*
tampfongan, tappongan, etc., while the Tagalogs apply
the word *bubong* to the roof itself. The grass roofing
(Ifugao *atop,* Bokod *atep,* Bangad *otop,* Isneg *atap)*
shows up in distant Mindanao as Agusan Mandayan
atep and Tiruray *atef,* and can even be recognized in
Tagabili *kêtêf*. So, too, the walling of the house—it
is *dingding* in Tagalog as all along the Cordillera from
Apayao to Baguio, with variants like *diding* occuring as
far apart as Sagada and Upi, Cotabato. Expert for these A
examples, however, Isneg architectural terminology has 192
nothing in common with the rest of the Province, unless 197
we hear an echo of their *talaxatag* in the *tarata* 342
floor of the Bangad *'olub*. (It is to be noted, however,

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao OA19
Apayao OA5
Isneg

A 192 197 342 that the Isnegs also have a smaller house constructed in their plantations for seasonal occupation, whose shorter floor-supporting posts are called *tukid* like the pan-Montane *tokod,* and whose *bansag* bamboo flooring is surely cognate with the *basag*-flooring of the Salegseg house.) I 192 197 171 342 Below the roof, there are almost no pan-Montane terms. The Ifugao *bughol* (rafters) reach western Bontoc, and their *kuling* (girders) as far down the Chico as Bangad, while certain Kalinga terms have fairly wide local circulation (e.g., their *bat-ang* joists or *pongo* rafters), but a common feature like the two girders present a whole list of unrelated forms — e.g., from south to north, *ballangan, kuling, ina, pyayon, mamansangan, andixiyan* — and even the two stringers distinctive of the Northern Strain are variously called *tapi, anisil, fuchis,* and *kinalayan.* This variety is to be expected inasmuch as it was not house styles that were transmitted from one people to another, but individual features and building techniques, — for which reason the rather awkward term "strain" has been adopted in this paper rather than "style."

I 192 197 171 343 Granaries throughout the Mountain Province are called *alang* except in the Kankanay speech of the western shoulder of the Cordillera which shares the Ilocano *agamang.* The word *agamang* itself is rather mysterious, for the Ifugaos apply it to the communal segregated dormitories whether they occupy big *bale*-style houses or mere *abong*-huts, and the Ilocanos themselves — at least in La Union — distinguish another shape of granary (one with vertical rather than slanting sides) as *salosal.* I [121] [178] In the absence of further data, perhaps the following flight of fancy might be entertained as a tentative explanation. *Agamang* was originally a kind of

193

193 **GRAMMAR**--lexical elements (e.g., roots, stems, bases); composition (e.g., compounding, polysynthesis); morphology (e.g., prefixing, suffixing, infixing, ablaut, reduplication, extrusion); covert structure; word categories (e.g., gender, "parts of speech"); modulus categories (e.g., number, tense, comparison, voice, aspect, mode, case); predication; syntax (e.g., intra- and intersentential linkage); end and initial sentence marking; minimal and abbreviated sentences; etc. See also:

Linguistic studies 814

postponed for a considerable time. Others again say that *Kútaw* robs 775
it of its garments and dons them himself, to the great dismay and 763
shame of the poor *kaduduwá*, who from now on is obliged to wear
either no clothes or at least only such as are not cared for any more
by its companions at the other side of the grave. The latter informants usually add that *Kútaw* refuses to ferry this *kaduduwá* over the pond, unless it gives its brand-new clothes to him; some of them say that it may happen that *Kútaw* takes to himself not only the clothes, but also the whole *kaduduwá* (as a kind of servant). One more detail was given me by a Bayag informant: if the dead person has only one of his forearms tattooed (not both of them), *Kútaw* cuts off this tattooed limb and keeps it to himself.

To resume: some informants state that all *kaduduwá* are always ferried over the pond by *Kútaw*, but that those whose *innát* wears no new clothes, remain like that at least for some time to come, or are left to their own devices as soon as they reach the other side, without being able to find their relatives, at least immediately, while those whose *innát* wear new clothes without rent are either despoiled by *Kútaw* or kept back for at least a considerable time from the enjoyment that is their due. Other informants state that some *kaduduwá* are simply scorned by *Kútaw* and left on this side of the pond: either those whose *innát* wear old clothes, or those whose new garments have not been torn. On the other hand, when asked what *kaduduwá* are living in the realm of the dead, even these last informants generally affirm that they all do.

A *labbáń* is a kind of lagoon or pool of stagnant water, of a type 133
found in abundance all along the northern coast of Luzon, between
Sanchez Mira and Aparri, and even farther east. At Nagbabalayan 193
there is also a *labbáń*, which consists of a pool of water separated 772
from the Apayaw river by a small elevation of land; at every large
rise of the Apayaw river, however, it forms one with the latter. This 136
Nagbabalayan *labbáń* is the regular abode of crocodiles, to whom the
Nagbabalayan people offer gifts at every sacrifice. But the name 782
lablabbáń belongs exclusively to the pond that separates our abode 178
from that of the dead. Such a reduplication as occurs here usually
hints at something similar to what the simple stem implies. Thus *lablabbáń* would mean a *labbáń* that is not an ordinary one, and, considering its place and use, no further proof is needed to convince everybody that it is a very peculiar pool indeed. The following mysterious fact adds to its differentiation from any other *labbáń*:

765 paratively young woman living at Bayag and called *Dariká*, who has
not eaten rice and taro for four consecutive years, and at the present
775 time (March, 1931) she still *mañgabí*. The reason is that she has
262 had to mourn successively her husband and several other members of
her family. She stated to me that she had completely forgotten the
taste of rice. After the *obébāt*, when the prohibition is lifted, these
persons always mix a few *awát* herbs with the rice they are cooking
for their first meal, and they consume the *awát* together with the rest.
For a month afterwards, they also usually abstain from corn, yams
and sweet potatoes.

765 *Magló:* this consists in abstaining from the use of anything of
which the deceased was particularly fond, and may be practised by
anybody who wants to show his esteem for the person in question. The purpose of the Isneg is to leave the use of these things to the person who went to the realm of the dead, and this abstinence may be protracted for many years, although it usually stops at the *obóbāt*. So, if the deceased was fond of yams, sugar, etc., the mourners abstain from eating these articles of food; if he was a great smoker, they forego the use of tobacco; if he was a drunkard, they stop drinking *bási*; if he was accustomed to make much ado about his apparel, they wear nothing but a G-string and a headband. I have known a man who drank no water, but only coconut milk and so forth, because his deceased father was wont to drink much water. While I am writing these lines, there is a man in the house who uses absolutely no salt with any of his meals; he wishes to reserve it for his deceased brother who was exceedingly fond of much-salted food. If the deceased liked to play the *balíkiñ* or nose flute, such instruments are left aside for the time being. If the woman for whom they mourn was a good *oritáñ* (native guitar) player, the mourners give up playing that instrument; and so on.

765 It should be noted in this connection that the Isneg also under-
stand the meaning of a souvenir or keepsake. If the deceased had
523 made something nice or had a trinket or instrument which he valued
very highly, the survivors take those things to themselves as *panam-*
193 *dammán* (something used to remember or to think about somebody;
from the stem *damdám*, "thinking", the prefix *pañ*, *ñ* of the prefix
and *d* of the stem being combined into *n*, and the suffix *ān*) or *pagsinsinnán* (something used to see or to look at somebody; from the stem *siñán*, "seeing", reduplicated and syncopated into *sinsinn*, the prefix *pag* and the suffix *ān*).

000 "No, you," said the deaf man. They spent nearly the whole day arguing as to who would climb the tree. At last the deaf man was the one who climbed the coconut tree. When he had nearly reached the coconuts, it happened that he slipped and fell down. He cried, "I am falling."

The blind man began to hunt for the coconuts and found the head of his companion. He took it and started husking it. He took off the hair, then the skin, and then broke open the bone and came to the brain. "This is the best meat of a coconut that I ever ate," he exlaimed, and ate it all. Then he returned home. When the blind man brought what he supposed to be a coconut, the people told him that it was the head of his companion.

NOTES ON APAYAO GRAMMAR

197 The Apayao language is quite complete and is related to the neighboring Ibanog and Kalinga speech.

193 The plural is formed by placing the numerals before the singular. Thus: *babalay* (house) and *opat ñga babalay* (four the houses). In daily speech the Apayao is careless of his figures, which he doesn't use much, or he may just say: "*ada ñga babalay*" (many the houses).

The possessive is formed with the suffixes: *—co* (first person), *—mo* (second person), and *—da* (third person). Thus: *babalay-co* (my house).

The gender is often derived from the context or may be formed by adding *babay* (woman) *la-*

lacay (man). Thus: *aso ñga babay* (dog the female) or aso ñga *lalacay* (dog the male).

The comparative is formed thus: good—*napia*; better—*napipia; best—kapian.*

Many of the verbs are regular: but some are irregular. If inclined, the Apayao can state his meaning very clearly in his language.

Conjugation of the verb, manalan (walk)
(Bayag River Dialect)
as commonly used.

INDICATIVE MODE

Present Tense

	Singular	Plural
First person	*manalan-nac*	*manalan-kami*
Second person	*manalan-ka*	*manalan-kayo*
Third person	*manalan*	*manalan-da*

Past Tense

First person	*dinalan-ko*	*dinalan-mi*
Second person	*dinalan-mo*	*dinalan-mo*
Third person	*dinalan-na*	*dinalan-da*

Future Tense

First person	*manalan-nak*	*dalanan-mi*
Second person	*manalan-ka*	*dalanan-mo*
Third person	*manalan*	*dalanan-da*

The tense is partly determined by the context.

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PROGRESSIVE TENSES

Present Tense

First person singular—*magdaldalannak*
etc.

Past Tense

First person singular—*magdaldalannak*
etc.

Future Tense

First person singular—*manalannak*
etc.

Subjunctive Mode

Present Tense

First person singular—*manalan na din*
etc.

Imperative Mode

Singular—*manalan ka* Plural—*manalan kayo*

Infinitives

Present Tense	Present Perfect Tense
manalan	*dinalan*

802

NUMERALS

1.	*isa*	20.	*dua pulo*
2.	*dua*	30.	*tallo pulo*
3.	*tallo*	40.	*appat pulo*
4.	*appat*	50.	*lima pulo*
5.	*lima*	51.	*lima pulo se isa*
6.	*annam*	60.	*annam pulo*
7.	*pitto*	70.	*pitto pulo*
8.	*walo*	80.	*walo pulo*
9.	*siyam*	90.	*siyam pulo*
10.	*pulo*	100.	*sañgagatot*
11.	*sangapulo se isa*	1000.	*sangaribu*

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194 **PHONOLOGY**--phonetic range; list of phonemes; significant length, stress, pitch, and tone; positional variants; phonologic processes (e.g., contraction, fusion, ellipsis); etc. See also:
Transliteration systems and orthography. . . . 104

764 before the corpse is washed, and with the definite purpose of forestalling the trouble of burying it. None of my Isneg informants, 775 however, could give me any further explanation. neither were they able to tell me, of course, how a dead body could disappear at once without more ado. The only statements they uttered were such as these: "This was the custom in olden times . . . . , formerly no *innát* was ever buried . . . . , the *tarimbáñon* was once a universal custom . . . . , long ago all Isneg *nanarimbáñon* . . . . ", and so on. Or is the whole *tarimbáñon* affair a myth pure and simple without any foundation in fact? Maybe, but my informants certainly did not entertain any such ideas: they were firmly convinced of the reality of such happenings in bygone times, although they were completely unable to explain away any of the contradictions involved. Have their mortuary beliefs and customs changed in the course of time? Or does the *tarimbáñon* replace all other ceremonies and force *Kútaw* to bring the *kaduduwá* over the *lablabbáñ* without further requirements? I do not know, neither do the Isneg seem to know.

[194] Once buried a dead body loses its name *innát* and may eventually become a *balañóbāñ* (sometimes pronounced *bañalóbāñ*; *balañóbañ*, 775 in Iloko, means "wanderer, vagabond", and is applied to ordinary human beings who are still alive), "ghost, phantom", a term which is almost always confined to wandering ghosts. The fact of becoming or not becoming a *balañóbāñ* after burial depends on the character of the deceased. If he is a good and virtuous person, he will be ashamed (say the Isneg) to wander about and annoy the neighbors in the shape of a *balañóbāñ*; or if some such person should become a wandering *balañóbāñ*, he will either go far away from the place of his tomb in order to startle unknown (and consequently unbeloved) people, or stay in the immediate neighborhood of the place of his death, but without bringing vexation to anybody around: all this because he is good and would feel ashamed to do otherwise. All other corpses, and these seem to form a considerable majority, become wandering *balañóbāñ*, and annoy the neighbors, except of course when they are kept from doing so by magical or other practices on the part of the living. If these practices, which keep a *balañóbāñ* at bay, are powerful enough, nothing is to be feared; but if they are ineffective, or if magic which causes a *balañóbāñ* to leave its grave and vex the neighbors is more powerful, then woe to your chickens. Indeed a *balañóbāñ*, after two or three nights in the grave, may not

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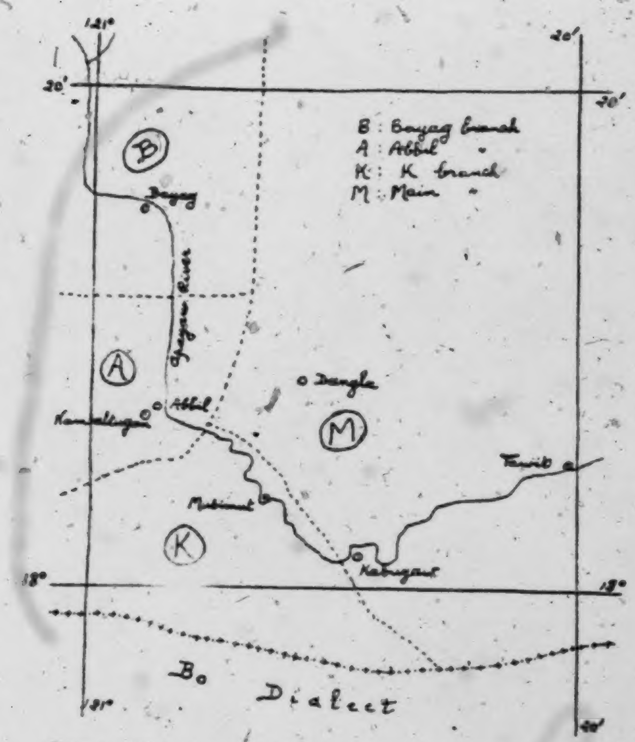
121°
20'
20'
20'
B : Bayag branch
A : Abbil "
K : K branch
M : Main "
B
Bayag
Apayaw River
A
Abbil
Kamalugan
Dangla
M
Tawit
Musimut
K
Kabugaw
18°
18°
Bo Dialect
121°
40'

SKETCH MAP OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE FOUR BRANCHES OF THE O DIALECT.

SCHEMA I

Following the course of the Apayaw river

	(to bear fruit)	(mosquito)	(hail)
(B) Bayag:	*makbisi-*	*agoxúp*	*xoxó*
(A) Abbil:	*magbisi-*	*agoúp*[3]	*oó*
(K) Musimut:	*magbisi-*	*axokúp*	*kokŏ*
(M) Kabugaw:	*magbisi-*	*axoúp*	*oó*
(M) Tawit:	*magbisi-*	*axoúp*[4]	*oó*

[3] As has been stated before, we do not mark the glottal catch between two vowels, *op. cit.*, 4.

[4] In Tawit the *x* is often scarcely audible, especially at the beginning of a word, and the glottal catch would very often be taken for a *x* by inexperienced ears. So *axoúp* might sound almost as *aoxúp*.

[194]

SCHEMA II

197

Passing the mountains between Bayag and Kabugaw

(B)	Bayag:	*makbisi-*	*agoxúp*	*xoxó*
(M)	Dangla:	*magbisi-*	*ayoúp* [5]	*oó*
(M)	Kabugaw:	*magbisi-*	*axoúp*	*oó*
(M)	Tawit:	*magbisi*	*axoúp* [4]	*oó*

In this connection I should like to warn the reader that the text 126
of a given informant does not always and in every particular render faithfully his own special dialect or branch of a dialect, and this for the following reasons:

1. On the part of the informant: 197

Communication between the different parts of the subprovince is
increasing at a rapid pace; and so, except for old women (who are 484
rarely available informants for investigators) and a few exceptionally backward persons (from whom no reliable information can be 124
obtained), the Isneg tends to adopt, at least occasionally, a pronunciation which is not strictly his own. At first, marriage and marriage 178
ceremonies were almost the only means of bringing together persons
who pronounced their gutturals in a different way. Later on, however, more extensive travelling brought male representatives of every
district into contact with one another. This was mostly due to the [721
gradual elimination of headhunting raids and, although in a less
marked degree, to the building of better roads. Now again, with the 491]
opening of schools in the larger centers and the introduction of compulsory education, boys and girls flock together from all parts of the subprovince, and differences in pronunciation tend to become obliterated, or rather, the language actually spoken by most of them offers to the ear a confused medley of gutturals.

Besides, an educated Isneg, and, incidentally, a good many others who can lay no claim to education, very often affect the use of Iloko words and sentences, pronounced as in Iloko (*x* none, glottal catch rare), or at least affect the pronunciation of the gutturals as in Iloko, although using pure Isneg words.

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[5] This is the *y* of the Anthropos alphabet. For the sake of uniformity, however, and to avoid confusion (as we use the sign *y* for another consonant), we always write *x* for all texts in M of the O dialect, even for those that originated in Dangla and surrounding villages. [194]

584 My informant emphatically stated that nothing untoward would yet happen at this juncture.

192 In this text we have one word borrowed from the Spanish:

In (1, *L.*), *sirrá*, from *cerrar*, to close".

Also one Iloko term in juxtaposition with its Isneg equivalent:

In (3, *B.*), Iloko *babáwi* and Isneg *appóli*, "repenting" (the *ó* in *appóli* and in the derivatives above, 3, *B.* and 4, *B.*, is like the aw in English "dawn", but longer).

Besides, one Iloko expression, a favorite with many Isneg:

In (4, *L.*), *kas pagarigān*, "for instance".

TEXT IV

[584 115] 539 This text consists in a dialogue between a boy and the girl he courts for the first time. In the latter part of the dialogue, the answers of the girl are lacking. My informant is Kimat from Baliwanan (M), who calls it *mamabáy*, "to court a girl".

1. *L.: maxápugka man ikáw.*
   B.: wag[23] *kud mamáńko ikáw.*
2. *L.: busídmo yān ikáw.*
   B.: paxádigmo xané ta magbusbusígka.[24]
3. *L.: bakkán luxúd nam ăy náńko ampĕlańin.*
   B.: námmo no ikáw.
4. *L.: sĕ- bakkán ikáw.*
   B.: úrăy no námmo ikáw ăy pandá ńalá.
5. *L.: atân yān ikáw no dôdúma se pĕ iyá.*
   B.: tân nam ăy bakkán kammalańín kurkurúggin.
6. *L.: úrăy no bakkán kurúg ăy piyáńko walá.*
   B.: poonáńā- pĕ ikáw.
7. *L.: úrăy man no aniyá ikáw ya malak-ómāńko ăy pandá ńalá.*
   B.: maammóa ikáw ditámo walá ibańát.
8. *L.: úrăymo walá sinnán a.*
   B.: díyā- miyamánān abbulón no mapooná.
9. *L.: isá ampĕlańín ikáw ya axiyáńko manín.*

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[194]

[23] *(a)wád*: *d* changed into *g*, before *k*.

[24] *busíd*; Cf. preceding note.

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195 STYLISTICS--differentiation in styles (e.g., conversational, narrative, rhetorical); stylistic modifications in phonology, grammar, and vocabulary; styles typed according to sex, age, status, and social context; euphemisms and metaphorical usages; profanity; etc. See also:

Poetic, oratorical, dramatic, and song styles	53	Word taboos	784
Social stratification	56	Curses and incantations	789
Etiquette	576	Obscenity	831

they are fatalists to a large extent, but I have assisted at many deathbeds, and, although the shouting and lamenting that goes on after a person's demise are certainly a part of what might be called a customary rite, I am bound to disagree with the statement regarding the supposed absence or shallowness of grief. As evidence, I shall merely adduce two concrete examples. 763 201

In August 1930 a little Iloko (Christian) girl of from four to five years old died in the house where I was receiving hospitality at the time. The mother lamented as usual as soon as the child had breathed its last. But for hours before, she had been squatting near her little daughter, weeping silently most of the time, and occasionally giving vent to her feelings in a subdued voice through expressions like these: "Ah, my child . . . . my little Udiang (Claudia) is gone . . . . would that I might die instead . . . . why do you leave your mother? . . . ." Who would dare assert that there was no real and profound grief in that mother's heart?

In May 1924 I happened to enter the house of a Kalinga (pagan) who had just died. A score of women were making a frightful scene, squatting around the dead body and yelling to their utmost; but in a corner of the hut the wife of the dead man was standing all alone and by herself, weeping and sobbing almost inaudibly. Who would believe that the widow's grief was only superficial and that her whole behavior was part of a make-believe?

The question is that under such circumstances a casual looker-on may be led to view only one part of the scene, the one that strikes his eyes and ears the most powerfully; but an unbiased observer must not forget to note even unobtrusive details, and only then will he be able to judge rightly about the matter.

With some tribes it is customary for those who assist a dying person repeatedly to press the latter's throat with their fingers, just as if they wanted to help him choke to death. This, however, is not practised by the Isneg. 763 171

It should be noted in this connection that an Isneg husband or wife, while lamenting his or her partner, always uses the term *kolóboń* (Bolo, Musimut, etc.) or *óboń* (Dangla, etc.), "partner", not the usual term *atáwa*, "husband, wife". 763 195

If it should happen that a person dies in the absence of his parents, in case these are still living, the latter are said to be *malibátān*. The stem *libāt* means "leaving unawares, without notice". 763

243 784 A person who *magtósa* is liable to be punished by finding the ears of his palay devoid of grain.

Reapers and owners of a field that is being harvested are not permitted to touch needles (*dáxum*).

262 When the Isneg begin to eat new rice, especially the first time, the following articles of food are prohibited: frogs (*tukâ-*), eels (*kíwat*), *addúg* (a species of very small dark-colored shrimp), *to-mám* (a kind of vegetable growing wild), and in some districts,—for instance at Dangia, not at Bolo,—the young shoots (*úbud*) of the *aníboń* (Caryota cumingii, Lodd., a fishtail palm) and any kind of sour fruit.

243 784 The use of arrows (*paltó-*) is absolutely forbidden in the *síxăy*. Even the pronunciation of its name, *paltó-*, in the hut, is taboo.

A person who is cut (*maplág*) by sharp-edged leaves (for instance, those of the *bassáw* or bamboo grass, of the *adâs*-sedge, etc.) must not pronounce the word *pallág* (wound caused by these leaves); he is merely allowed to show the wound to his companions, without calling it by name.

The pronunciation of the word *narupâ-*, " broken ", is taboo. Anybody who infringes this prohibition may rest assured that one or more of his *báńa*-jars will become *madamméli* (broken at the time of the harvest).

243 195 Besides the above words, whose pronunciation is absolutely forbidden, there are a good many others that must be replaced by a different term.1 In this way a kind of cant or jargon is formed, which an uninitiated person is unable to understand, even though he have a perfect knowledge of Isneg. A few examples will suffice:

	Common language	Reapers' cant
To eat:	*maglámus* or *mańân*	*magdanág* or *mananág* [57]
To be hungry:	*mabisín* (if you pronounce this word, you will go hungry for a whole year)	*nala-gíń*
To be stuck in the eye: (by reeds, etc.)	*masoltá-*	*mabuláw*
Dead (when hearing about somebody's death):	*natây*	*marísam* [58]
Rain:	*udân*	*daródo*

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[57] *Nadanág*, in ordinary language, means: to be through with the harvest.

[58] Even though the dead person had no field that was being reaped at the time.

1[at harvest time--Analyst]

The following terms have been heard at Talifugu (Bo dialect): 243 195

	Common language	Reapers' cant
Dog:	*áto*	*alíal*
Hog:	*ábuy*	*dinakán*
Chicken:	*anú-*	*kăyabkáb*
Monkey:	*ayóń*	*kilsáp*
Cat:	*kusá*	*lannáń*
To eat:	*mańán*	*mańunág* [59]

This is also the time[1] for proposing riddles (*baníko*), a pastime that is taboo in other seasons. Most of these riddles are stereotyped and well known all over the district, otherwise the solution of some of them would be absolutely impossible, as they consist of words that have become obsolete or that are entirely without meaning. Nevertheless new riddles are always welcome, and so the inventive genius of some of the natives is given much scope. 524

In order to avoid crowding into this paper too large a number of native texts, I refer the reader to a paper to be published subsequently, in which I give a long list of riddles and of their answers, all of them gathered during my prolonged sojourn in Apayaw.

It is also customary among the natives to set snares (*ílug*) for jungle fowls all around the *kómān*, at the time of the harvest, when these birds are especially bold. An Isneg never fails to improve the opportunity of getting a few choice morsels at little cost. 223

Harvest time is the season in which most spirits, good and bad, are abroad, and so the Isneg has a busy time, first to force his protectors to come and help him, and then to propitiate or drive away the evil imps that are intent either on stealing or harming his paddy, his most valued possession, or on playing all kinds of mischief and mean tricks. Besides these, in almost every village, we find one or more dwelling places of special *anito* (spirits) that have to be remembered at this time of the year. At Dangla, for instance, the reapers never omit to pay their respects to the genius who lives at *Pinaxolowán*, by offering him *inapúxān* (betel for chewing). 243 782

When offering *inapúxān* to the spirits, at harvesting time, some or all of the following prayers may be recited:

Iápugko ikáw ulát ta umad-adăyyóka kadakamí (I offer betel [for chewing] to you, Famine, so that you be going away from us).

---

[59] *Maxunág*, in ordinary language, means: to enter the house.

1[i.e., at harvest time -- Analyst]

196

196 SEMANTICS--general problems of meaning and linguistic symbolism; semantics of morphological and lexical elements; affectual connotation (e.g., tone of voice, rapidity of delivery); multiple contextual definitions of words and phrases; semantic drift; etc.

Ne uwámo píläy dímo as-assăyán dăyá ammăy dăyá isagaddán [19] 776
(Here, this is yours, Pilay, so that you do not lessen the rice of the 782
people).

Ne uwámo íläy ta batbattuxánnā- (Here, this is yours, Ilay, so that you be satiating me).

The text of these formulas was given me by men from Dangla (O dialect, Main branch), the last one by *Lampá,* the others by *Púlog.*

Whatever I have said of the *Píläy* so far applies to the majority of 776
Apayaw villages. Nevertheless in a few agglomerations, the *Píläy,* 789
instead of being loved and invoked with religious awe, are loathed and execrated by the inhabitants, who do everything in their power to drive them away. This seeming anomaly may be easily accounted for in the following way. It has been said in a preceding paragraph that some *Píläy* steal rice in order to increase the harvest of their devotees; consequently there must be somebody somewhere whom they are in the habit of robbing, and the victims can do nothing else, of course, but resent it tremendously. Therefore we find Isneg who use this or a similar ceremony in order to make the *Píläy* decamp: they go to the bushes, near some tree, and, holding a receptacle for lime (*agapúxān*) in one hand, they recite the following prayer. My informant, *Dagámi,* a Bayag woman (O dialect), gave it this title:

Makpídut Píläy (To extract Pilay [20])

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[19] *Púlog,* my informant, gave "people, men" as the meaning of *isagaddán* 196
According to most of my informants, *isagaddán* (never pronounced *isaxaddán*) means: members of the Christian tribes, especially the Kagayan and the Iloko; while *ibaññán* means: natives, Isneg. In prayers, however, *isagaddán* mostly stands for "the people who offer a sacrifice, who pray, who seek protection from the spirits". Actually these terms are rarely or never used in ordinary conversation. Now, taking everything into consideration, I cannot help believing that originally the term *isagaddán* stood for something like "the faithful, those who pray, those who offer a sacrifice, the devout, the initiated, etc.", while *ibaññán* meant "the outsiders, those who are invited to a sacrifice, the uninitiated, etc.", and that later on the term *isagaddán* came to be applied to those tribes (Kagayan, Iloko) who were recognized by the Isneg as possessing a culture (perhaps) and a power (certainly) superior to their own, and the term *ibaññán* to themselves. With the advent of Christianity, these terms would then have become obsolete in ordinary speech, and the terms Ibanag (Christians) and Isneg would have taken their place. Even now the term Ibanag for "Christian" is becoming more and more obsolete: to the Isneg of the younger generation Ibanag means Kagayan, and the other Christian tribes are known by their own tribal name.

[20] *Pídut* usually means "extracting the sickness from someone's body". In Iloko *pídut* means "picking up".

197

197 **LINGUISTIC IDENTIFICATION**--dominant language or languages; affiliation with other languages; position within a linguistic stock or family; dialectic differentiation; processes of linguistic change (e.g., drift); etc. See also:

Racial affiliations . . . . 144 Cultural affiliations 171

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

THE ISNEG LIFE CYCLE. I. BIRTH, EDUCATION, AND DAILY ROUTINE

BY MORICE VANOVERBERGH, C.I.C.M.

Mountain Province, Philippine Islands

INTRODUCTION [1]

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113 [1] On the habitat of the Isneg of the subprovince of Apayaw, Mountain Province,
Northern Luzon, Philippine Islands, see details in M. Vanoverbergh, The Isneg,
PUBL. CATH. ANTHROP. CONF., 1932, v. 3, no. 1, esp. pp. 55-57, map, p. 51: on Isneg
● 197 language, with phonetic key, ibid., pp. 3-14. [Since writing and forwarding the
manuscript of the present paper, Father Vanoverbergh has discovered that what
he previously had called the G branch of the O dialect of Isneg is in reality two
separate branches which he is now calling the Bayag branch (abbrev. B), spoken
in the municipal district of Bayag, and the Abbil (abbrev. A) branch, spoken in
the municipal district of Namaltugan. So he is eliminating G and substituting
B and A. Detailed data on B and A, received from Father Vanoverbergh since
the receipt of this manuscript, will be published shortly.—Ed.] In native words
126 used in the present paper the accent (ʹ) is placed over, instead of after, the
accented vowel. Accented *n* (*ń*), however, denotes, not accent, but the ng sound
in English "bring".

Besides, the objects that are
761 placed in the coffin at burial are supposed to be used, not by the
775 corpse, but by the *kaduduwá*, so that the connection between the two
764 continues at least for a certain period after death. Add to this that
the *balañóbāñ* or revivified *innót* is also definitely known to belong to the dead person as well as his *kaduduwá:* this is proved by the fact that the transformation of the corpse into a *balañóbāñ* is supposed to depend on the character of the person, while the latter was still alive, all of which will be explained in due time.

774 Third, the term *kaduduwá* itself. Semantically, and perhaps lin-
guistically, the Isneg term *kaduduwá* corresponds to the Iloko term
●197 *kararuá*, "soul". Semantically: both terms have probably an iden-
tical meaning: anyhow they most certainly refer to one and the same
775 thing: the spirit of man that continues to live after death. Perhaps
linguistically: when we compare several Filipino languages with one another, it is clearly seen that *d* and *r* very often interchange; for instance: Ibanag *nararál* and Iloko *nadadáel* (destroyed), Isneg *matúdog* and Iloko *matúrog* (to sleep), Isneg *adú* and Ibanag *arú* (many). *A* and *o* or *u*, when not bearing the accent, are often interchanged, or at least their pronunciation is blurred and they are hardly to be distinguished from one another; for instance: Isneg *maxudóddit* and *maxadóddit* (to tell a story), *obóbāt* and *abóbāt* (the ceremony that concludes the period of mourning). And so, linguistically, the distance between Iloko *kararuá* (pronounced *kararuwá*) and Isneg *kaduduwá* does not seem to be very great.

Etymologically, however, Isneg *kaduduwá* and Iloko *kararuá* seem to be entirely different; on the contrary, the Isneg term *kaduduwá* and the Iloko *kaduá* (pronounced *kaduwá*) are one etymologically, although seemingly very different semantically: as *kaduá* in Iloko means "companion", which in Isneg is rendered by *kabbulón*. Both Isneg *kaduduwá* and Iloko *kaduá* are composed of the stem *duwá* (written *duá* in Iloko), "two", partly reduplicated in Isneg, and the prefix *ka*, indicating companionship, concomitance, etc., in both languages.

In view of all this it seems reasonable to infer that the Isneg seem to consider the spirit that continues to live after death, not exactly as a companion (in this case they would call it *kabbulón*), but as a part of something, a counterpart, something that goes with something else (prefix *ka*), and to which, in numbers, it would correspond as number "two (*duwá*)", not in time and successively or consecutively, but concomitantly (on account of the prefix *ka*).

APPENDIX

Types of Dialogues between a Boy and the Girl whom he is Courting

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

In my first paper on the Isneg, I divided the Isneg language into two dialects, and I further subdivided one of them into three branches.[1] Since that time I have had the opportunity of making a more complete survey of the whole situation. Consequently, instead of one G branch, as I called it at the time, I find it necessary to count two, as the differences between both are strongly marked. Now, for the sake of clearness, I would eliminate the name "G branch", and substitute two others, namely: the Bayag branch and the Abbil branch. For the rest everything stands as in my first paper.

Thus we have the following outlook:

- Language: Isneg.
- Two dialects: Bo and O.
  - The O dialect divided into four branches:
    - Main branch (abbr. M);
    - K branch (abbr. K);
    - Bayag branch (abbr. B), spoken in the municipal district of Bayag;
    - Abbil branch (abbr. A), spoken in the municipal district of Namaltugan.

The accompanying rough sketch map, which should be used in connection with the more elaborate map that appeared in the aforementioned paper,[2] and the following two schemas of the sequence of the gutturals within the O dialect, will make the matter clear.

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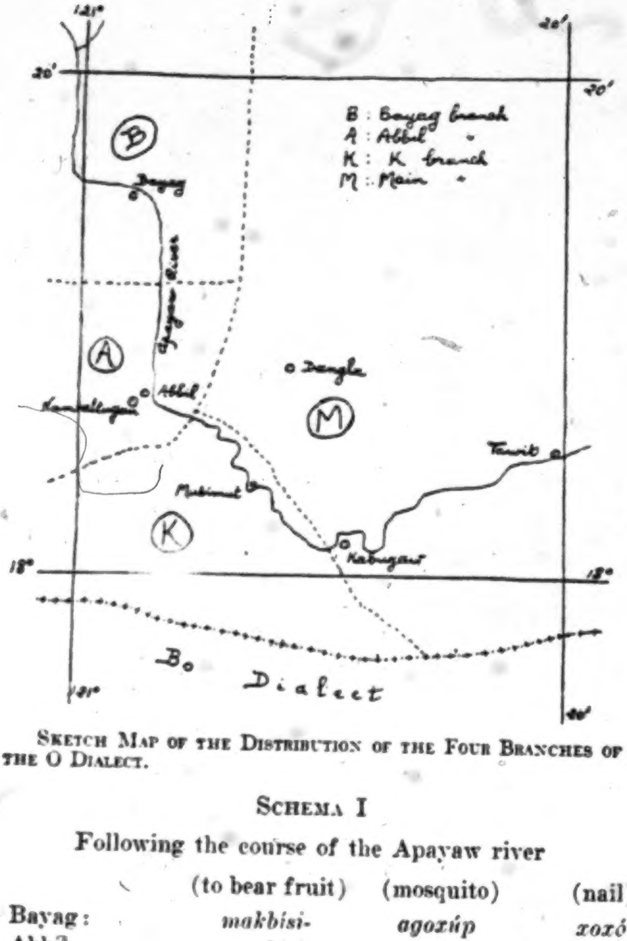
[1] Cf. Publ. Cath. anthrop. conf., 3: 13.

[2] Op. cit., 51.

• 197


121°
20'
20'
20'
B : Bayag branch
A : Abbil "
K : K branch
M : Main "
B
Bayag
Apayaw River
A
Abbil
Dangla
M
Tawit
Musimut
K
Kabugaw
18°
18°
Bo Dialect
121°
20'

SKETCH MAP OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE FOUR BRANCHES OF THE O DIALECT.

SCHEMA I

Following the course of the Apayaw river

	(to bear fruit)	(mosquito)	(nail)
(B) Bayag:	*makbisi-*	*agoxúp*	*xoxó*
(A) Abbil:	*magbisi-*	*agoúp* [3]	*oó*
(K) Musimut:	*magbísi-*	*axokúp*	*kokó*
(M) Kabugaw:	*magbísi-*	*axoúp*	*oó*
(M) Tawit:	*magbísi-*	*axoúp* [4]	*oó*

[3] As has been stated before, we do not mark the glottal catch between two vowels, *op. cit.*, 4.

[194]

[4] In Tawit the *x* is often scarcely audible, especially at the beginning of a word, and the glottal catch would very often be taken for a *x* by inexperienced ears. So *axoúp* might sound almost as *aoxúp*.

SCHEMA II 197

Passing the mountains between Bayag and Kabugaw

(B) Bayag:	*makbisi-*	*agoxúp*	*xoxó*
(M) Dangla:	*magbisi-*	*ayoúp* [5]	*oó*
(M) Kabugaw:	*magbisi-*	*axoúp*	*oó*
(M) Tawit:	*magbisi*	*axoúp* [6]	*oó*

In this connection I should like to warn the reader that the text 126
of a given informant does not always and in every particular render faithfully his own special dialect or branch of a dialect, and this for the following reasons:

1. On the part of the informant: 197

Communication between the different parts of the subprovince is increasing at a rapid pace; 484
and so, except for old women (who are rarely available informants for investigators) and a few exceptionally backward persons (from whom no reliable information can be 124
obtained), the Isneg tends to adopt, at least occasionally, a pronunciation which is not strictly his own. At first, marriage and marriage 178
ceremonies were almost the only means of bringing together persons who pronounced their gutturals in a different way. Later on, however, more extensive travelling brought male representatives of every district into contact with one another. This was mostly due to the 721
gradual elimination of headhunting raids and, although in a less marked degree, to the building of better roads. 491
Now again, with the opening of schools in the larger centers and the introduction of compulsory education, boys and girls flock together from all parts of the subprovince, and differences in pronunciation tend to become obliterated, or rather, the language actually spoken by most of them offers to the ear a confused medley of gutturals.

Besides, an educated Isneg, and, incidentally, a good many others who can lay no claim to education, very often affect the use of Iloko words and sentences, pronounced as in Iloko (*x* none, glottal catch rare), or at least affect the pronunciation of the gutturals as in Iloko, although using pure Isneg words.

---

[5] This is the *y* of the Anthropos alphabet. For the sake of uniformity, however, and to avoid confusion (as we use the sign *y* for another consonant), we always write *x* for all texts in M of the O dialect, even for those that originated in Dangla and surrounding villages. 194

197 2. On my own part:

126 In my dealings with the Isneg I use the Main branch of the O dialect, while in writing I use the K branch for reasons given before.[6] So it may have happened that, in writing down texts, my own ordinary use of M has influenced me to write down a given word as I myself would have pronounced it, or my use of K in writing has caused me to put down K's where they were absent in the informant's pronunciation.

Nevertheless I have always tried to write down texts as faithfully as possible, and now I start publishing them as I have them, without trying to correct anything, even though an occasional guttural that appears in a given term does not belong to the correct language of a given informant.

The above warning is given here once for all, and it refers to all Isneg texts that I shall publish in the future.

TEXT I

[584] [115] This text is a continuous dialogue between a boy and the girl he goes to court for the first time. My informant is Baydan from Tawit (M), and he calls it *maibabbǻy*, "courting the girls".

539 1. *Laláí: iápugnā- man ikáw*[7] *ta adú kanó ya mamámmo a nánda.*
Babǻy: āwán pańalakkánta ka mamá ńa ńáxan baláí.[8]

2. *L.: námmo ăy pagdam[illegible]lámagda ńa nagsinińńde ka mamá.*
B.: díta maxuńgám no mapooná ńam ăy.

3. *L.: mańuwáa pagká- kiyá atán kammalańín simpapadán.*
B.: turáńka mańuwá ka ibatáymo ka asitóláymo.

4. *L.: díka mańaluníb kiyá ittó ya nááko.*
B.: xapó walá xané ta ummánta kiddí ya agdalidálĭnta ńa dadúma.

---

[6] Op. cit., 14.

192 [7] *ikáw*, sometimes pronounced *kaw*, which literally means "you", and which I render by 'you', is a little term which is very hard to translate. The Isneg use it all the time, and always in the form *ikáw*, although when it stands for the personal pronoun, those who use the Main branch pronounce *iáw*. Here thus it stands for something like "come on now", "what is the matter", but it changes its shade of meaning with every context.

[8] *baláí* is a term used with affectation; the real ordinary word is *babǻy; baláí* is made to look similar to *laláí*, "man".

yaos after the principal river in their country. Some 101
say the word Apayao was originated in their fierce [726]
battle cry *"Ma-ap-ay-ao."* During this call the hand [198]
is clapped rapidly over the mouth so that the cry sounds
much like the American Indian war-whoop. This cry [574]
is also used at a feast: when a new visitor comes,
when the basi is brought in, and when a pig is killed.

I will endeavor to describe, from personal obser- 121
vation of its still numerous cultural remains, some-
thing of the life of the Apayaos as it no doubt existed
little changed during the long centuries during which
their folktales were formed.

The life of these people has much to do with the 361
streams of the country along which most of them live.
They do not live on the river flats, but on the mountain
sides for safety. Many of their communities are [103]
named after the streams near which they are located.
A considerable part of the food is obtained from the
streams; and they are used for washing, bathing and
swimming, as well as for scenery. Much of the trans- 505
portation is on the streams, and the men are expert 502
boatma nand raftsmen. During the heavy rainy sea- [489]
son transportation on swollen rivers is perilous; but, [221]
it is carried on somewhat. The result is that many
a banca has over-turned in the roaring rapids; much
valuable merchandidse still lies in the deep pools at the
feet of those rapids; and many of family mourns the
loss of a loved one. Therefore stories of the streams [538]
often occur in the legends of the people.

The people on each stream were isolated from 184
each other for many centuries so that there has come 174
to be quite a difference in their customs and dialects. 361
197
162

000 to be quite a differenc in their customs and dialects.
197 Along the length of the Apayao River there are three
162 separate groups. They can understand each other
about the way that a Spaniard understands an Italian.

DRESS

291 The ordinary dress of the people is simple. The
[302] men wear breechcloths or G-strings, *abag*. They
keep their hair long and coil it on the head. It is
confined with a length of cloth wrapped turban fashion.
[304] The hands and wrists are tattooed in the boat pattern.
[142] The teeth are blackened. Each man has a small, decorated
[276] bag, *bulsa*, in which he keeps his betel nut,
[293] *buyo*, lime bottle, tobacco, flint, tinder, and other small
belongings. This is tucked, either into the G-string
or in a belt woven of rattan. The woman, when about
301 her work, wears only a tapis. She has a necklace of
523 ancestral beads, shaped from chalcedony, silver
and carved amulet bones. There are also patterned
porcelain beads in the string. Many of these were obtained
from the Chinese when they were active traders
here some five centuries ago. Gold does not appear
[304] to be used. The woman has boat-pattern tattoo marks
[291] on the back of her hands as an aid to beauty. The
[854] small children make their skins do as clothing. Babies
are carried about by the mothers in slings passed over
one shoulder.

292 When all dressed up and ready to go to a party,
301 the woman wears a dark tapis, *aquen;* a cloth girdle,
bajacat; a short-waisted, long-sleeved, black, pull-on
shirt, *badiyo*, all characteristically embroidered in red;
a head cloth with spangles, *laddong* and *saban*, topped

000 "No, you," said the deaf man. They spent nearly the whole day arguing as to who would climb the tree. At last the deaf man was the one who climbed the coconut tree. When he had nearly reached the coconuts, it happened that he slipped and fell down. He cried, "I am falling."

The blind man began to hunt for the coconuts and found the head of his companion. He took it and started husking it. He took off the hair, then the skin, and then broke open the bone and came to the brain. "This is the best meat of a coconut that I ever ate," he exlaimed, and ate it all. Then he returned home. When the blind man brought what he supposed to be a coconut, the people told him that it was the head of his companion.

NOTES ON APAYAO GRAMMAR

197 The Apayao language is quite complete and is related to the neighboring Ibanog and Kalinga speech.

193 The plural is formed by placing the numerals before the singular. Thus: *babalay* (house) and *opat ñga babalay* (four the houses). In daily speech the Apayao is careless of his figures, which he doesn't use much, or he may just say: "*ada ñga babalay*" (many the houses).

The possessive is formed with the suffixes: —*co* (first person), —*mo* (second person), and —*da* (third person). Thus: *babalay-co* (my house).

The gender is often derived from the context or may be formed by adding *babay* (woman) *la-*

Manangol, houses whose long girders are supported on K
six posts and houses whose floor joists are cut into the 192
posts that support the roof are both called *'olub*. The big 342
octagonal houses are called by various names (e.g., *kinipas*
in Tanglag, *ginitob* in Dakalan), but *binayon* or *finaryon*
is understood through most of Chico Kalinga. It A
may be noteworthy that the Isneg call their big houses, K
which are certainly anything but octagonal, *binuron,* 192
and that while modern Kalinga informants distinguish 342
their octagonal houses as being "round" or "eight-sided", older natives characterize them as "big and wooden". There is also a tendency in the common speech of eastern Kalinga and Conner district of Apayao to distinguish the big houses from the *kulub* as *balay*.

Comparison of the terminology of structural parts I
discloses only a few which are pan-Montane, and these 192
happen also to be pan-Philippine. The cross-thatching 342
which forms the ridging of the roof is called *bubong* 171
(bobon) from Ifugao to Kabugao and the ridgepole 197
supporting it *bobongan, panabfongan, pamabbongan, tampfongan, tappongan,* etc., while the Tagalogs apply the word *bubong* to the roof itself. The grass roofing (Ifugao *atop,* Bokod *atep,* Bangad *otop,* Isneg *atap)* shows up in distant Mindanao as Agusan Mandayan *atep* and Tiruray *atef,* and can even be recognized in Tagabili *kêtêf*. So, too, the walling of the house—it is *dingding* in Tagalog as all along the Cordillera from Apayao to Baguio, with variants like *diding* occuring as
far apart as Sagada and Upi, Cotabato. Expert for these A
examples, however, Isneg architectural terminology has 192
nothing in common with the rest of the Province, unless 197
we hear an echo of their *talaxatag* in the *tarata* 342
floor of the Bangad *'olub*. (It is to be noted, however,

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao OA19
Apayao OA5
Igorot OA20
Nabaloi
Bontok OA12
Philippines OA1

I

lects (e.g., Ilocano *balay,* Cagayan Negrito *bali',* Ibanag P
bale) and pretty generally throughout the Philippines 197
(e.g., Mandayan *baey,* Tagalog *bahay*) — to say
nothing of far Polynesia (e.g., Hawaiian *hale,* Samoan B
fali). The Bontocs, however, call their houses *afong.* [192]

Bawi is another pan-Montane word which certainly I
appears to be cognate with *bali,* yet in almost all B
dialects both words are present and the distinction between 197
them consistent — *bali* is "house" and *bawi* is 342
"hut". More specifically, a *bawi* is a temporary or I
casual shelter like a campsite; in no dialect is it applied B 197
to buildings permanently occupied as dwellings. 361
An element of permanence is incidentally lent some of B
the *bawi* in the Bontoc area because of the fact that [178]
such look-out or omen-seeking campsites on the ridges [726]
outside the town limits were prominent features of warfare [788]
in the old head-taking days, and trips to such sites [778]
have nowadays been fossilized into religious ceremonies
which make the *bawi* somewhat shrinelike. Travelers I B
who find themselves in between settlements at nightfall [485]
or in the face of threatening thunder-heads may build [461]
a grass *bawi,* and so might workers who have to stay [342]
all day in the hot sun in the fields. In Apayao the same A
term is applied to the simple roof erected over a blacksmith's 197
forge. But generally, huts which have even a 192
small permanent role to play in the community life are [343]
not called *bawi;* in Kalinga and Apayao, for example, [342]
sheds or shelters in the fields from which children scare [361]
birds away from the crops are called *sigay,* and in Benguet Ig
abulan. The Nabaloi do not use the word *bawi* 192
for a campsite hut as such, but have the term as a
verbal stem which underscores its basic meaning — to 197

4

A 192 •197 342 that the Isnegs also have a smaller house constructed in their plantations for seasonal occupation, whose shorter floor-supporting posts are called *tukid* like the pan-Montane *tokod,* and whose *bansag* bamboo flooring is surely cognate with the *basag*-flooring of the Salegseg house.) I 192 197 171 342 Below the roof, there are almost no pan-Montane terms. The Ifugao *bughol* (rafters) reach western Bontoc, and their *kuling* (girders) as far down the Chico as Bangad, while certain Kalinga terms have fairly wide local circulation (e.g., their *bat-ang* joists or *pongo* rafters), but a common feature like the two girders present a whole list of unrelated forms — e.g., from south to north, *ballangan, kuling, ina, pyayon, mamansangan, andixiyan* — and even the two stringers distinctive of the Northern Strain are variously called *tapi, anisil, fuchis,* and *kinalayan.* This variety is to be expected inasmuch as it was not house styles that were transmitted from one people to another, but individual features and building techniques, — for which reason the rather awkward term "strain" has been adopted in this paper rather than "style."

I 192 197 171 343 Granaries throughout the Mountain Province are called *alang* except in the Kankanay speech of the western shoulder of the Cordillera which shares the Ilocano *agamang.* The word *agamang* itself is rather mysterious, for the Ifugaos apply it to the communal segregated dormitories whether they occupy big *bale*-style houses or mere *abong*-huts, and the Ilocanos themselves — at least in La Union — distinguish another shape of granary (one with vertical rather than slanting sides) as *salosal.* I [121] [178] In the absence of further data, perhaps the following flight of fancy might be entertained as a tentative explanation. *Agamang* was originally a kind of

198

198 **SPECIAL LANGUAGES**--marginal languages (e.g., pidgin, trade languages); languages confined to a particular sex, occupation, social class, or ethnic group; special adaptations of speech (e.g., yodeling, whistling, ventriloquism); etc. See also:

Sign languages	201
Drum languages	202
Writing	212

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197
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201

201 **GESTURES AND SIGNS**--patterned expressions of emotion (e.g., affection, aggression, derision, fear, disgust); gestures of affirmation and negation; indications of size and shape; directive signs (e.g., beckoning, warning); sign languages and their use (e.g., by the deaf, in intertribal communication); etc. See also:

Recreation gestures	52
Gestures in dancing, drama, and oratory	53
Nervous gestures	157
Postures	516
Humor	522
Greetings and obeisances	576
Numerical signs	802
Ideas about facial reactions	827
Suggestive gestures	832

question and bring the water home, when without such trouble, the 515 same, and even a much better, result can be obtained by using the water where it is found

The Isneg wash their hands before meals, or, to speak correctly, 264 515 dip one of their hands in water with a semblance of washing it: they 862 occasionally tell their offspring to do the same.

In order to satisfy the wants of nature, they always retire far 514 away from the presence of other human beings lest they offend the 863 latters' sense of smell: an Isneg resents nothing more than the disregard 177 of this elementary courtesy, and children receive a severe scolding and sometimes a sound thrashing, if they fail to imitate their elders in this respect. Special closets for the purpose were entirely unknown here until Government officials introduced them by force: there is no lack of space in Apayaw.

Isneg women sweep the house, not only daily, but whenever there is 356 a reason for doing so, and they clean the yard very often. Small 863 girls are regularly told to help their mother or their elder sisters, and sometimes to do the sweeping in their stead, so that they also may learn how to perform the duties of a good housewife.

Let us now pass to the noble sport of *bisnág*. *Bisnág* is very 524 popular all over the northern part of the Mountain Province, while 857 Ibaloy and Kankanay seem not even to know it Among the Isneg, 865 not only boys and young men, but also men of mature age, frequently indulge in it; nay, at stated times, adults take part in it as in a kind of religious rite or ceremony; but more of this later. Isneg youngsters usually practice *bisnág* in imitation of their elders, merely as a kind of play, whenever it takes their fancy to do so. Although this 865 sport is not formally taught, older people often urge boys to take part 201 in it, and they rarely fail to break out into vociferous applause, whenever 861 one of the young braves has performed his part befittingly, in this way encouraging the whole group to do better and better.

Bisnág certainly inures the partakers to hardship and develops their 524 bodily strength, although, to use a minimum of words, one might say 865 that it merely consists in slapping one another's thigh. But such a statement is all too simple; in reality the sport is much more complicated. There must be at least two men in order to play *bisnág* (Figures 1 and 2), and strictly speaking, two men are sufficient: the one who slaps, whom I shall call the agent for short, and the one who is slapped, the patient.

yourself as best you can. Any kind of excuse will do in order to 576
escape a thrashing or a severe scolding, provided it proves accept- 593
able; but take care not to be caught lying: this could but add to the 577
latter's resentment. To get out of a bad predicament a little deceit 888
is not forbidden, but not everybody can use it with good results; so be
careful about it".

Lately, when paying a visit to ***Basilig*** at Pansian, his daughters set [264]
the table (in the Isneg way, of course) for him, and partook of the
food only after their father had finished his own meal, although this
is not required by custom.

In general the Isneg have a high regard for their parents and
elders, although in our eyes their conduct may sometimes seem to be
lacking in outward signs of respect. Their standard of etiquette and [554]
politeness is not exactly the same as our own. An Isneg child calls
its parents "father" and "mother", and a usual title of respect
for aged people is ***kakáy***, but for the rest it is not very demonstrative.

So, when an Isneg mother recently came to visit her son at my house, the other boys repeatedly told him that his mother was there, but he did not move in the least: the old woman had to go and look for him herself somewhere around the house. Nevertheless that boy had asked me on a former occasion to be allowed to stop going to school in order to help his widowed mother with the wages he would be able to earn that way.

To be convinced that Isneg children respect their elders, although 578
most all outward signs common to our own code are usually absent, 577
it is sufficient to observe their behavior and that of their elders, when- 576
ever something untoward has happened. Isneg children look like
angels, if you compare their attitude and whole demeanor with that [201]
of older men and women, who shout and gesticulate and allow the
whole neighborhood to know what happened, without having to go
out of its way to listen to the conversation. Boys and girls usually
keep quiet when their parents are angry, while in the case of older
people it is a question of proving who has the loudest voice, the one
that carries the farthest: among the Isneg, the biggest shouter usually
gains the victory.

An unmannerly person is called *toxáron*; this epithet, however, is 576
only applied as far as I know, to a person who drinks directly from 271
the *urúd*, a bamboo that is used for fetching water, instead of using
a cup.

577 lawful revenge for a former injury: a traveler who passes your
609 village is a guest more than anything else, so show him the way with
truth and exactitude, whenever you are questioned about it. In a
683 word, be truthful, whenever you have no grave reason to act other-
wise; and, with reference to your enemies and the Ibanag, deceit is
574 usually lawful: only special circumstances might oblige you to stick
to truth even in their case."

576 Isneg know little of what we understand by courtesy: they rarely
come out of their house, for instance, to show you the way. If you
201 ask them for information, they usually give it to you, truthfully
indeed, but without taking the trouble to appear and show the
direction by gestures, which would ordinarily be much clearer, at
least to a complete stranger, than mere oral indications. Under
this respect a Negrito is generally much more correct, at least
according to our own point of view.

Now let us consider a few vices and crimes more in particular.

682 "Never kill or wound a friend: this is a crime that calls for venge-
ance. Perhaps he was far from right in sustaining the quarrel, but
577 you inevitably put yourself in the wrong by resorting to bloodshed.
A homicide or any kind of severe wounding among friends brings in
its wake at least the customary looting of the house of the culprit.
So beware, control yourself in time, before it is too late to repent.
When you are engaged in some dangerous business,—for instance,
when hunting,—always be prudent and see that no harm befalls any
person. Death by violence is a terrible thing; bloodshed is never
allowed among people who are not at enmity with one another".

672 Two examples will show very clearly how little the Isneg care
about intention or purpose; the result of your act is the only thing
they consider: if you killed a person, it is wholly immaterial whether
you did it intentionally or not, whether it was premeditated or done
by accident, whether you could have prevented it or not, whether
there was culpable negligence on your part or not.

Last year an Isneg soldier from Musimut went to hunt at night
682 with some friends and relatives. He handed his gun to one of his
672 kinsmen living at Nagbabalayan, gave him the necessary instructions,
and then went the other way to drive the game in the direction of
the man with the gun. When the latter fired at the deer that ran
toward him, he killed the soldier instead: the poor fellow must have
lost all sense of direction or forgotten about the place where he left
his gun; anyhow he died after a few moments. No sooner was the

the fact that I had used his daughter. Can you beat it?" Needless 836
to say, the conversation was practically a soliloquy on the part of 831
the policeman. I do not believe though that his action was consonant
with the Isneg code of morals; but this incident, and especially the 562
answer of the girl's father, shows clearly how different is the state 661
of man and woman among the Isneg, with reference to sex morality.
It should be added here that the father would probably have objected 554
much more strongly to the man who took such liberties with his daughter, if he had not been a policeman. The latter are supposed to be more or less immune and may take liberties not accorded to others, probably on account of their position. Isneg in general resent that: I have heard them say so more than once; but they are afraid to object too strongly, and so policemen mostly do what they like: their reputation is far from clean all over the district, although I do not believe that they are all equally blamable. Later on I heard that, at the time of the above occurrence, the policeman had intended to make the girl his second wife, an engagement which had been broken off at a subsequent date.

It may be noted in this connection that among the Isneg a man, 684
whether single or married, who commits adultery with a married 837
woman (*manaládag*) is thought to be driven to his crime by some evil
spirit. In such a case his guilt would be considerably lessened in 776
our point of view; not so, however, in that of the Isneg: in his eyes, 672
it is only the ultimate act that counts, as has been stated before.

"A fit of anger usually makes a man ridiculous in the eyes of the 201
bystanders. It is true that when there is question of a rightful 152
quarrel, you should never fail to sustain it; to be meek and patient
under the circumstances would be mere cowardice. Nevertheless 577
everybody is inclined to laugh at the behavior of an angry man: so, 578
although you be strictly in your right, try to control your anger
sufficiently not to cause others to laugh at you.

"You know our belief with reference to people who are wont to 201
laugh at the defects of other persons (*magdóla*): if such people are
married, they will be punished by having their children suffer the 152
same defect; if they are still young, the children who will be born 577
to them in the future will be misshapen (*pákań*).

"A certain amount of *bási* is not to be despised, but drinking to 733
excess is always bad. Who respects a drunken man? Besides, think
about the consequences: quarrels, fights, bloodshed, revenges, etc. As 577
soon as you feel that you have enough, go away and sleep it off, lest
you commit regrettable [illegible].

592 562 578 [201] wife. Especially when the women have attained a more or less advanced age, their tongue usually rules the household; and in this they have a very sharp-cutting instrument indeed. The husband may occasionally vindicate his authority, but most of the time he shrinks from the women's displeasure. Besides, as a last resort, they always have their tears ready at hand; I have assisted more than once, although involuntarily, at family scenes in which the quarrel ended with a flow of tears on the part of the wife and subsequent awkwardness in the manner of the more or less aggressive husband, who finally could find no other way out but meekly to explain, to try to soothe, and to submit. An old woman, be she married or widowed, has generally more than one say in the family. And if a woman has been consecrated a shamaness while in her early childhood, then she commands the respect not only of the household but of her neighbors as well, or rather inspires them with a kind of reverential awe, especially if she is advanced in years.

To resume, both parties help each other in their own way: the husband has a woman to look after his daily needs, and the wife, although taking the lion's share of the work, does not lack compensation in the fact that from now on she has a ready listener whenever she wants to pronounce one of her philippics.

837 As has been amply shown in the preceding pages, and as will appear even more clearly from what will be said of divorce, there can be no question among the Isneg of allowing anybody access to one's wife or of exchanging wives with another man.

831 593 Do Isneg husbands and wives love each other? It has been said about other tribes, here in the Mountain Province, that in their case marriage is nothing else but a juxtaposition of two people, a man and a woman, that the husband is more like a stranger to his wife, that mutual love between husband and wife is something completely unknown. This may perhaps be true with some of them, although I doubt very much if such sweeping statements are entirely consonant with the facts. But does it apply to the Isneg? It must be conceded that in the question of marital love, just as in that of gratitude, outward manifestations are exceedingly sparse among the Isneg. It is also a fact that husband and wife never or almost never work together, which after all is not exactly peculiar to primitive people. But can we truly say that mutual love is unknown between an Isneg husband and his wife? I should answer most emphatically in the negative: Isneg man and wife most certainly love each other. Nevertheless it

763 catastrophe by trying to extricate the sickness from the poor man's
755 body in the form of a piece of iron or of a tuft of grass; his family
has offered the customary sacrifices of pigs, etc., while the shamaness
has performed the ceremonies connected with obsession by a spirit
763 (*maxanito*); but all to no avail. The neighbors come flocking in,
mostly intent perhaps on the *bási*, which flows freely on such occasions and of which they partake copiously. The state of the patient has become hopeless. Now and then the bystanders feel his pulse, which is his life (*biyáy*), as the Isneg put it; if its pulsations are still strong, they may try a last *maxanito* performance with occasional sacrifice of a chicken. But the pulse becomes weaker and weaker. *Taxáy matáyyin* or *atán matáy*, "he is dying", which means that *bittí- ya áñatna*, "his breath is little". More people come in, and more *bási* is distributed. And finally the end (*tápañ*) comes, the man dies (*matáy*).

763 Now pandemonium breaks loose. All present, more especially the
201 women, break forth into loud lamentations; loud voices, at their highest pitch, resound discordantly all around the dead man; everybody shouts, each person lamenting in his or her own way without caring for the words or the tune of his or her neighbors. The husband, wife, parents or children, as the case may be, anyhow the nearest relative or relatives may go so far as to cut themselves with their knives and to make incisions in their body. They may even threaten suicide, whether by hanging themselves or by throwing themselves into the water, but in this they are of course impeded by the bystanders. And this lasts for a considerable period of time. These outward manifestations of grief are so exceedingly grotesque, and the contortions and vociferations are so much exaggerated, that it is well-nigh impossible to take them at their face value. But such is the custom, and who would dare disobey it?

Similar scenes are enacted and may be witnessed among all the tribes I have had to do with, except that in the case of the civilized Christians a certain decorum is rarely absent, and the lamenting is mostly confined to the near relatives of the deceased. This has led many Europea[illegible] and Americans to believe and even to affirm confidently that the natives in general did not grieve very much when death snatched away one of their own, that they were stoics and fatalists to a high degree, that all these loud expressions of sorrow were pure make-up staged for the occasion. I would be the last to deny that the natives possess a certain degree of stoicism and that

they are fatalists to a large extent, but I have assisted at many death- 763
beds, and, although the shouting and lamenting that goes on after a
person's demise are certainly a part of what might be called a cus- 201
tomary rite, I am bound to disagree with the statement regarding the
supposed absence or shallowness of grief. As evidence, I shall merely
adduce two concrete examples.

In August 1930 a little Iloko (Christian) girl of from four to five years old died in the house where I was receiving hospitality at the time. The mother lamented as usual as soon as the child had breathed its last. But for hours before, she had been squatting near her little daughter, weeping silently most of the time, and occasionally giving vent to her feelings in a subdued voice through expressions like these: "Ah, my child . . . . my little Udiang (Claudia) is gone . . . . would that I might die instead . . . . why do you leave your mother? . . . ." Who would dare assert that there was no real and profound grief in that mother's heart?

In May 1924 I happened to enter the house of a Kalinga (pagan) who had just died. A score of women were making a frightful scene, squatting around the dead body and yelling to their utmost; but in a corner of the hut the wife of the dead man was standing all alone and by herself, weeping and sobbing almost inaudibly. Who would believe that the widow's grief was only superficial and that her whole behavior was part of a make-believe?

The question is that under such circumstances a casual looker-on may be led to view only one part of the scene, the one that strikes his eyes and ears the most powerfully; but an unbiased observer must not forget to note even unobtrusive details, and only then will he be able to judge rightly about the matter.

With some tribes it is customary for those who assist a dying 763
person repeatedly to press the latter's throat with their fingers, just
as if they wanted to help him choke to death. This, however, is not 171
practised by the Isneg.

It should be noted in this connection that an Isneg husband or 763
wife, while lamenting his or her partner, always uses the term
kokóboń (Bolo, Musimut, etc.) or *óboń* (Dangla, etc.), "partner", 195
not the usual term *atáwa*, "husband, wife".

If it should happen that a person dies in the absence of his parents, 763
in case these are still living, the latter are said to be ***malibátān***. The
stem *libāt* means "leaving unawares, without notice".

formed by any of the shamans. Indeed, why should the spirits be 764
enticed to obsess the shaman at a time when everybody is bent on 782
keeping them at a distance? Besides, the souls of the dead should be [775]
left where they are as long as the *innát* is in the house, probably lest
the *kaduduwá* of the deceased be interfered with on its trip to the
other world.

Women mourn and lament in a loud voice almost uninterruptedly, 764
usually two or three at a time: when one group is tired, another one
takes its place. Men rarely imitate them in this, especially after the 785
first general outburst of grief, that takes place immediately after
death is over, but they *magbibisnág* (slap one another's thighs: the 206
game previously described, CAC–P, 3: 123-26). According to the 524
Isneg, playing *bisnág* is a man's way of showing his grief: a certain
chastisement of the body is undoubtedly involved in the whole performance,
and just as the near relatives sometimes cut themselves at
the death of one of their loved ones in order to show the intensity
of their sorrow, so also the men, relatives, neighbors and friends, slap
one another's thighs, often until blood spurts out, in order to prove
to the whole assembly that they also take part and are far from
remaining insensible in the presence of death. That a certain amount
of voluntary infliction of pain is at the root of this question, is corroborated
by the fact that some women occasionally take part in the
bisnág, the more so that no member of the weaker sex ever plays the
rôle of agent (*mañná*), but merely receives the slaps (*magtán*) without
rendering them. Expressions like the following may be heard
frequently among the Isneg: "*Uráy magdáxa ya apélko ta xakkánnā-magsáñit*
(even though my thighs bleed, as I do not weep)". In
both cases, namely in that of men and in that of women, the *bisnág*
is resorted to more especially by those who do little or no weeping;
people, whether men or women, who do a good deal of lamenting,
rarely take part in *bisnág*.

It goes without saying that the spirits are wide awake at the death 776
of an Isneg, and that the survivors are annoyed with their unwelcome 764
presence at every turn. Among others the following deserve special
mention:

Dupappá-, whose tastes are very peculiar; indeed, he it is who absorbs the decayed matter (*saxó*) that flows from the nose and mouth of the deceased.

765 515 Widows and widowers are not allowed to take a bath as long as they have to wear their mourning apparel, and, in some settlements, for instance at Karagawan, they are not even allowed to cross a stream.

765 It goes without saying that many of the taboos described above are nothing but signs of mourning; nevertheless there are other tokens that are more clearly and exclusively (at least in our own eyes) distinctive characteristics of the sorrow that affects man when he suffers some bereavement.

And first as to mourning apparel.

765 292 As soon as the body is interred, the nearest relative or relatives don their mourning apparel, they *magwais.* Widows and widowers are of course obliged to do so by custom; for the others, everything depends on their esteem for the deceased. At the death of some persons a whole lot of people wear mourning, while others are barely mourned by a single relative. At any rate, mourning apparel (*kolmót* or *pusá-;* the term *kolmót* more especially refers to men's mourning apparel, while *pusá-* is almost exclusively used for women's mourning apparel; *napusá-* also means "white") once put on has to be worn all the time until the *obóbāt.* In Apayaw the color is white, and nice clothes are taboo. All mourners, men and women alike, wear a white headband (*ábal;* pronounced *kábal* at Bolo), which consists in an *inarosó* (at Bolo; *arinosó,* at Bayag; *rinosó,* at Dangla), a comparatively narrow strip of bark, mostly taken from the *taudáw* tree and especially prepared for the purpose. If the persons in question also abstain from rice and taro (*mańgabí*), they wear, besides the headband just mentioned, a kind of neckcloth, which is just a second *inarosó,* worn around the neck and left loose in front.

765 201 For many days after the burial of a near relative, the mourners go every morning to weep at the tomb of their loved one, be it a husband or wife, a father or mother, or a much beloved child, brother or sister. After *Mámaw's* husband had been buried at Nagbabalayan (beginning of 1926), the widow could be seen every morning, carrying her babe and accompanied by her grown-up son, silently directing her steps toward the graveyard. Once there both the widow and her son would squat down in the immediate proximity of the tomb and weep unceasingly for a considerable period of time, low murmurings and subdued sobs being the only audible manifestations of their grief. While doing so, they usually rested the right elbow on the right knee and extended the right hand over the eyebrows touching the fore-

head. In February 1929, a man from Aputan had come home from 765
a distant town to find his wife dead and buried. One day, when I
was visiting the place, a few days afterwards, I saw him come back 201
from his work some time before noon, and walk toward the cemetery, which was situated at a little distance from the settlement. While on his way, he wept and lamented in a loud voice. After he had reached the tomb of his wife, I could still distinctly hear him lamenting and crying intermittently for about half an hour. The neighbors told me that this had been repeated every day since he came back home and that the same scene would probably be enacted in the same way for several days to come.

And so we reach the close of this most important period, namely 765
the *obóbāt* ceremony which ends mourning once for all. Indeed after the *obóbāt* all taboos cease, *lapât* (tabooed) coconuts have been freed (*inúkas*), all signs of mourning are gone, and if some of the relatives are not yet prepared to forget the deceased, they merely resort to *magló* in order to continue to show their undying love.

During the *obóbāt*, pigs are usually offered in sacrifice, while the 765
maxaníto is performed by the shamaness, who at the time is supposed
to be obsessed by the spirit or *kaduduwá* of the deceased. The de- 782
ceased, through her mouth, generally voices all his grievances against
the living, whether they be present or absent, and insists on all his 787
dues being rendered him. Nevertheless, if no pigs are killed and a dog is the only animal to be offered in sacrifice, no *maxaníto* takes place.

About the middle of the ceremony, after the killing of the dog, 765
either before or after eating, the mourners proceed to change their
apparel, they *magba-bât*. If the deceased was a married person, it [431]
is the duty of one of the male relatives, either of the husband or of the wife (no matter which of the two departed this life), to give new clothes and a string of beads to the surviving widow or widower.
As soon as the said male relative (*mama-bât*) has handed the new [201]
clothes to the survivor, the latter leaves the group and goes into some corner of the house in order to change his or her apparel, which action is always accompanied by a fresh outburst of grief and loud lamentations on his or her part. After the brand-new garments have been donned, he or she again joins the company, and is adorned by the *mama-bât* in person with the string of beads he has brought for the purpose.

202

202 **TRANSMISSION OF MESSAGES**--signaling devices (e.g., fire, smoke, blinker, semaphore); signal codes (e.g., drum language, flag codes, Morse code); cryptography; use of carrier birds and animals; messengers and courier systems; etc. See also:

Oral communication	191	Railway signaling systems	496
Travel	484	Embassies	648
Post and relay stations	495	Scouts in warfare	726

In the morning the family prepares the food for 796
the guests. The men butcher the dog, chickens, and 574
pigs. They might go out and get a wild pig or two. 252
The women cook the rice, vegetables and meat. Boys 462
carry invitations to the houses of the guests, who begin 202
to arrive about noon, all dressed up in their best
clothes.

When a guest arrives, he is given a drink of *basi* 796
and also food, if he is hungry. Individual servings 574
of rice, together with some meat and vegetables, are 264
wrapped up in sections of bamboo leaf and passed 782
around. One package of food is placed for the family [778]
anito under the sacred big tree or bamboo clump where
it lives, and where it is the custom to hang the heads
taken by the family warriors. As the various animals
are killed, a little of the blood and liver are placed in
a coconut shell or a section of bamboo and hung up
for the *anito* of the feast. That is his share. The
people eat the rest for him. Also *runo* leaves are hung
from a rafter above the stove, one for each pig killed.

Dancing, *talip*, in the house starts early in the 535
afternoon. The intriguing music is supplied by the 796
women, who beat a staccato rhythm on three instruments: 534
the *ludog*, a drum fashioned of a hollowed log 574
with a skin secured over one end; a large, shallow
curved-bottomed kettle-shaped bronze gong; and the
ganza, a smaller, flat-bottomed bronze gong. Each [533]
has its own tone (base, soprano, alto) and beat; while
the notes are short: quarter, eighth, and sixteenth.
Thus the rhythm is fast and intricate: hard to follow.
One couple dances at a time. One of the family hands 535
a special cloth to an honored guest. He starts walk- 796 574

212

212 WRITING--picture writing (e.g., type, technique, use); written symbols (e.g., ideograms, phonograms); systematization (e.g., syllabary, alphabet); reading and spelling; incidence of literacy; writing materials (e.g., parchment, paper, ink); instruments (e.g., pen, brush); methods (e.g., shorthand, chirography); products (e.g., inscriptions, diaries, letters, manuscripts); clerical specialists (e.g., scribes, stenographers); etc. See also:

Communication	20	Representative art	532
Draftsmanship	341	Forms of literature	538
Description of typewriters	405	Signs for numerals	802
Description of writing instruments	413		

524 865 After this the patient takes his turn in playing the rôle of agent, and all excitement, and perhaps filled with a spirit of revenge, he will try to elicit even more applause than his predecessor by the gracefulness and abundance of his contortions, and by the keenness of his final blow. Sometimes both men repeat the performance once and again, and even several times in succession; but the general rule is one slap to each individual.

All the time some of the bystanders are challenging one another to a similar combat and as soon as the two customary blows have been struck, or in case the same two men played the *bisndg* several times in succession, as soon as these are tired or otherwise stop slapping one another, the next pair takes to the platform.

B. MENTAL EDUCATION

212 868 Let us now turn to the question of mental education. Here at least we meet with a kind of formal training. To make the matter very simple, I shall begin by mentioning the fact that the Isneg have no system of writing, and there is consequently no room for teaching anything concerned with either reading or writing; and, whereas there are no recognized hereditary chiefs among them, all children are practically on the same level. But all of them have to learn the spoken language of the people, and without the help of someone to teach them, most youngsters would remain ignorant of a good many terms that every decent Isneg should know. Moreover such knowledge has to be imparted to them at the earliest opportunity.

868 855 Here the mother, without being recognized specifically as a teacher, takes upon herself to instruct her child as soon as it begins to be able to talk. She tells it the names of articles of furniture, animals, trees, and whatever comes in their way. This is done formally, but not systematically. I mean that the mother really teaches her child, but she does this only on the occasion of meeting the object whose name she wishes her baby to know. The father also does not fail to teach his boys, who have attained the age at which they leave the usual company of their mother and follow their male parent, the names of some objects of which they might still be ignorant, for instance the names of constellations, and more especially the names of places, brooks, etc., which they meet on their way while travelling. Even in the case of small children of both sexes, the father gladly plays the instructor, whenever there is some occasion to do so, although as a rule the mother is supposed to impart most of that kind of training

000 in these jars, together with the beads. The[1] jars are
523 valued up to ₱200 and bead up to ₱150 each. They
[435] are usually inherited in the family as marriage dowries;
[430] but may be received as indemnity for injuries.
[425] Sometimes labels, in the ancient script, are chiseled
[583] [681] on these jars. According to authorities, when the
212 people came here, they had a high culture and read
178 and wrote fluently in the script; but this culture gradually
523 lessened from disuse until now there are only
a few treasured ancient manuscripts remaining.

415 One type of basket is used. The lip is circuar-formed
285 on rattan. The bottom is drawn out to four corners on which is secured a rattan base. Both wicker and twilled basket weaves are used, and the best ones are ornamented with colored lines and conventional designs. These baskets are woven in different sizes to fit various needs; so that a good housewife has a whole set of them which will nest together There are also some especially shaped baskets for particular uses.

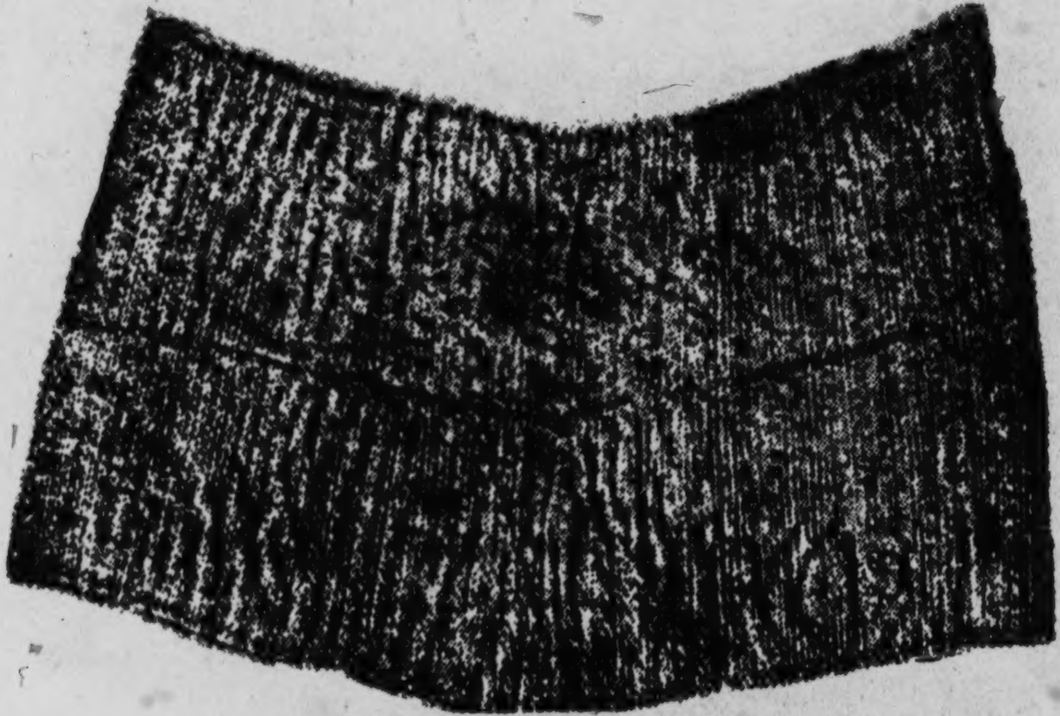
415 At meal time the cooked rice is ladled out on new
264 banana leaves placed on the floor, and the other food may be placed in polished, half-coconut shells. These are also used as water cups, finger bowls, and general containers. The family squat around and help themselves to the food. Their fingers are washed and, being more convenient, are used in place of forks.

262 The rice has a pinkish hue, is sticky, has a good flavor, and is the basic food of the people. With this may be eaten portions of the flesh of fish, shrimp, snails, crabs, crocodiles, lizards, frogs, ants, chickens,
000 birds, or deer. The vegetables may be: tomatoes, egg-

[1] [ancient Chinese--ANALYST]

46: Wilson F-3 (no date) 1947 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5

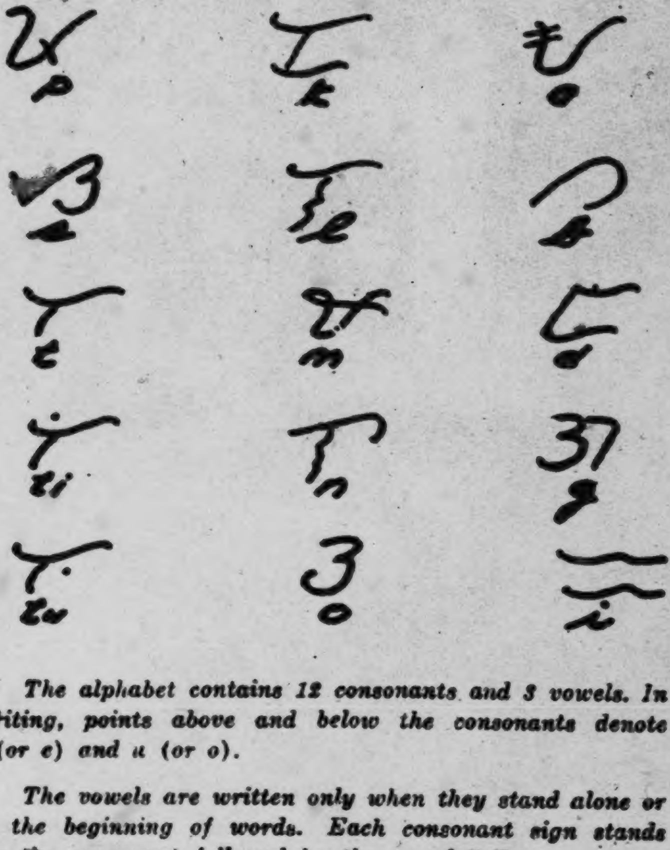
212



An ancient manuscript made of the bark of a tree.
You read from top to bottom and right to left in columns.

-170A-

212 The Ancient Script



The alphabet contains 12 consonants and 3 vowels. In writing, points above and below the consonants denote i (or e) and u (or o).

The vowels are written only when they stand alone or at the beginning of words. Each consonant sign stands for the consonant followed by the sound "a".

221

221 **ANNUAL CYCLE**--seasonal distribution and succession of food-getting and other economic activities; seasonal migrations in the gathering or production of food (e.g., transhumance, nomadism). See also:

Migrations	166, 167	Annual ceremonial calendar	796
Economic productivity	433	Calendar	805

yaos after the principal river in their country. Some 101
say the word Apayao was originated in their fierce [726]
battle cry *"Ma-ap-ay-ao."* During this call the hand [198]
is clapped rapidly over the mouth so that the cry sounds
much like the American Indian war-whoop. This cry [574]
is also used at a feast: when a new visitor comes,
when the basi is brought in, and when a pig is killed.

I will endeavor to describe, from personal obser- 121
vation of its still numerous cultural remains, some-
thing of the life of the Apayaos as it no doubt existed
little changed during the long centuries during which
their folktales were formed.

The life of these people has much to do with the 361
streams of the country along which most of them live.
They do not live on the river flats, but on the mountain
sides for safety. Many of their communities are [103]
named after the streams near which they are located.
A considerable part of the food is obtained from the
streams; and they are used for washing, bathing and
swimming, as well as for scenery. Much of the trans- 505
portation is on the streams, and the men are expert 502
boatma nand raftsmen. During the heavy rainy sea- [489]
son transportation on swollen rivers is perilous; but, [221]
it is carried on somewhat. The result is that many
a banca has over-turned in the roaring rapids; much
valuable merchandidse still lies in the deep pools at the
feet of those rapids; and many of family mourns the
loss of a loved one. Therefore stories of the streams [538]
often occur in the legends of the people.

The people on each stream were isolated from 184
each other for many centuries so that there has come 174
to be quite a difference in their customs and dialects. 361
197
162

IV. *INNAS*

539

First Group: *Ki kayo ñga calagaab*
Intada ñga magdowas
Innas sa ianno onnas inballoballog ogennas.

2nd Group: *Ay yo diamno dowas*
Aed ac lagud aumicad
Ta piniac makilaglagaak
Ki kao nga kalabeat.

First Group: Oh! beloved brethren,
Let us love one another.
Allright: forget the past and
Let us all love together.

2nd Group: Here I am with you, love;
Yes, I am here with you;
I want to be happy
With you my beloved brethren.

COSMOLOGY

Apayaos say that the earth is flat with edges, off 772
which the water flows and is caught by the moon 821
which returns it to the earth as rain. You can tell 823
when this will be done by observing the new moon. 221
If its tips (forming a container) are horizontal it 241
will not rain. If one tip is down, the water will run 805
out and it will rain. Camotes are planted during the
first and the last quarters of the moon. The positions
of ursa major and ursa minor determine the time of
planting most of the food crops. This is done by co- 476
operative planting, *abugo*.

222

222 COLLECTING--edible materials gathered (e.g., roots, fruits, seeds, seaweed, insects, honey, sap, syrup, eggs); techniques and artifacts employed; economic importance of collecting; organization of activities; division of products; associated beliefs and practices; etc. See also:

Natural resources in fauna and flora	13	Collection of marine fauna	226
Collection of nonedible raw materials and salt	31	Diet	262

462 241 his children earlier and more extensively than any other work. At the same time he believes in the division of labor; so even in this respect, among the Isneg, the two sexes simply complement one another.

462 241 868 The agricultural system of the Isneg is a very wasteful one, as he never plants his rice in the same field for two consecutive years. He has to clear every year a part of the forest or bush: now this work is the exclusive duty of the men. A father tells and shows his boy which part of the forest or bush should be chosen for a future field; then both start the work by cutting down small trees and undergrowth, and finish it by burning the dried plants. The boy imitates his father during the whole procedure, but an occasional hint on the part of the parent is rarely absent, especially in the case of the smaller boys. Then comes the turn of the women, to whom from now on the whole work devolves almost exclusively. The mother teaches her girls how to plant rice, corn, taro, yams, sweet potatoes and the rest, how to weed the fields, and how to harvest the crops. The only time at which the father, with the boys as his pupils, intervenes is when a fence has to be erected around the field.

868 462 In brief, almost everything relating to agriculture is formally taught to the children, but it is done in such a way that they can immediately start practising what they have learned, by imitating their elders. The only exception is the original clearing of a chosen field, which is learned by imitation alone; at that time of course the boy should already be old enough to wield at least a small headax, and consequently he must have seen his father at work in former years, and needs no further instruction on the subject.

[252] Pounding rice and preparing the meals are never taught: just as soon as a girl is old enough, she helps her mother, and picks these things up just naturally Even boys learn how to cook a simple meal (and all Isneg meals deserve that qualification) in the same way, as later on, especially when travelling, they will have to do it without the assistance of the women.

[222 226] Hunting, fishing and preparing trees for apiculture, which are men's pursuits, are learned almost exclusively by imitation: a boy sees what others do, whether they be his older relatives or just some other boys who have already been initiated into the secrets of the game, and he acts like they do. That an occasional word of instruction or warning may be offered the young man, cannot be denied, but as a whole no formal teaching takes place.

in the power of my drugs instead of following exclusively his own 609
superstitions. At least I inferred from his conduct that this was 577
his state of mind; and I believe I was not far from the truth. Similar
cases are frequent also among the Isneg: doctors and sanitary inspectors know all too well about them.

"Be generous toward your friends. A miser is abhorred among 577
us. *If* you bring down a wild boar or deer in the *forest*, share your
good luck with your relatives and friends. These things were not 777
worked *for* by you; fate brought them into *your* hands. If you have 431
tobacco, share it with your friends; be a generous companion to every 222
Isneg. When you *offer* a sacrifice be not stingy with the *bási*, and 273
give everybody who happens to come along his share of rice and
viands. Would you be happy if somebody prevented you from par- 574
ticipating in a feast? Would you like to be excluded at the distribution of food and drink? Never cause your companions to say that you *amaxáwa* (or *iaxáwa*, "to put away dainties when a visitor is seen approaching the house, lest one should have to let him have a share in them") or *gumiádd* (to close the doors at the appearance of a stranger while eating some delicious *food*, for the same reason):
these are very opprobrious terms. With reference to the Ibanag, 577
remember that those in authority have come here to help us, and more
especially the white man: he has unbounded riches, and he has come 609
here for the evident purpose of spending it upon us. Even though 574
some of us are considered rich among ourselves, they are poor when
compared with him. Let him pay double the price for whatever he 437
needs. Is he not rich beyond anything you can imagine? Do not exclude him from your feasts, if he wants to participate in them, but expect him to be generous toward you in all transactions and business affairs."

Kadáw, who is considered the richest man in Apayaw, has come to my house more than once in order to sell articles which he could not get rid of elsewhere, and he usually charged us twice the regular price. When we told him that he is a rich man, which by the way he likes to hear very much, and that he at least should remember how we feed many of his people without remuneration, when we told him that he should help us in order to be merciful to the poor Isneg instead of taking advantage of our good will, he invariably retorted by saying that we have money galore, and what should we do with it except distribute it to the Isneg. Is this not the reason why we live among them? And *Kadáw* is not the only Isneg who entertains such an opinion.

223

223 FOWLING--birds sought; methods and techniques (e.g., nets, snares, birdlime, decoys); special elaborations (e.g., falconry); organization of labor and division of catch; associated beliefs and practices; regulation (e.g., game laws); etc. See also:

Native fauna 136
Weapons 411

The following terms have been heard at Talifugu (Bö dialect): 243 195

	Common language	Reapers' cant
Dog:	*áto*	*alíal*
Hog:	*ábuy*	*dinakán*
Chicken:	*anú-*	*kăyabkáb*
Monkey:	*ayǿń*	*kilsáp*
Cat:	*kusá*	*lannáń*
To eat:	*mańán*	*mańunág* [39]

This is also the time[1] for proposing riddles (*baníko*), a pastime that is taboo in other seasons. Most of these riddles are stereotyped and well known all over the district, otherwise the solution of some of them would be absolutely impossible, as they consist of words that have become obsolete or that are entirely without meaning. Nevertheless new riddles are always welcome, and so the inventive genius of some of the natives is given much scope. 524

In order to avoid crowding into this paper too large a number of native texts, I refer the reader to a paper to be published subsequently, in which I give a long list of riddles and of their answers, all of them gathered during my prolonged sojourn in Apayaw.

It is also customary among the natives to set snares (*ílug*) for jungle fowls all around the *kómān*, at the time of the harvest, when these birds are especially bold. An Isneg never fails to improve the opportunity of getting a few choice morsels at little cost. 223

Harvest time is the season in which most spirits, good and bad, are abroad, and so the Isneg has a busy time, first to force his protectors to come and help him, and then to propitiate or drive away the evil imps that are intent either on stealing or harming his paddy, his most valued possession, or on playing all kinds of mischief and mean tricks. Besides these, in almost every village, we find one or more dwelling places of special *aníto* (spirits) that have to be remembered at this time of the year. At Dangla, for instance, the reapers never omit to pay their respects to the genius who lives at *Pinaxolowán*, by offering him *inapúxān* (betel for chewing). 243 782

When offering *inapúxān* to the spirits, at harvesting time, some or all of the following prayers may be recited:

Iápugko ikáw ulắt ta umad-adăyyóka kadakamí (I offer betel [for chewing] to you, Famine, so that you be going away from us).

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[39] *Maxunág*, in ordinary language, means: to enter the house.

1[i.e., at harvest time -- Analyst]

224

224 **HUNTING AND TRAPPING**--animals sought; hunting methods and techniques (e.g., stalking, collective drive); description and use of traps and snares; use of domestic animals (e.g., dogs, ferrets); special elaborations (e.g., trapping for the fur trade); hunting trips; economic importance of hunting; organization of labor and division of catch; associated beliefs and practices; hunting for sport; regulation (e.g., game laws, open seasons); etc. See also:

Native fauna 136
Transportation of animal carcasses 483
Weapons 411

226 Sometimes the fish are poisoned with tobacco
[824] or the juice derived from the berries of the *tuba* bush.
Also several types of fish traps are used.

224 Deer and wild pigs are hunted with dogs. Wild pigs are also trapped in their runways. The meat thus obtained is divided with fellow hunters and among neighbors. The hunting technique is quite communistic.

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692 any one who has broken the common law. Disputes between individuals are settled by intermediary peace
681 makers. It is notable that the fines are not paid to the government, but to the injured party, who receives the suitable indemnity. This may be in the form of jars, beads, animals, and other valuables.

000 Unfortunately they had no means to produce fire. Moreover, the weight of the beast was beyond their strength to bring home. They sat down for a while and considered what they would do about it. "Should the greedy giant know about our catch, he would come and get it," they figured. "Well, let me go to beg fire from him and tell him that we are to roast locusts," said one. "All right, but you must be watchful; otherwise he will catch you. Just stay below the ladder," advised the other one.

Then the brave brother departed for the giant Guisorab's house. When he had arrived at the place, he stood silently, fearing that the giant was not in a good mood. At last he spoke: "Oh master, will you kindly give me fire?" "Ah, what are you going to do with it, little fellow?" Asked the giant. "It is for me to roast locusts", was the answer. "Oh, I like locusts very much. I must come with you," exclaimed Guisorab. "No master, I forget to tell you that I am going to roast crabs," spoke the little one. "What did you say? crabs! crabs! Those are even better than locusts. Let me go along with you then", declared the giant.

"Well, it is a wild pig, sir, that we are to roast with the fire," the brother said. "Certainly, little fellow, I will give you fire; but carry this basket for me. Just show me the way and I will lead. Pig's meat is the best of all for me," roared the giant.

224 So they proceeded to the place where the great boar lay. Fire was soon flaming. The boar was roasted. "Well let me divide the pig into pieces little fellows," said the giant, putting the basket beside him.

The two brothers began to feel discontented upon seeing the giant putting almost all of the good meat into his basket. At last, they were given their tiny shares. Both were very silent. But before the greedy creature 000 could depart, they suggested to him that they go bathing in the river. The giant consented to go with them.

When they were in the river, they arranged to have a race swimming under water. At a given signal, they all dove; but the two brothers hurriedly got out of the water and then rushed to the giant's basket. They opened the basket; took out the meat and put stones back instead o fthe meat. The meat was hidden while the giant swam down, down the river with the idea of winning; but that was not the true object of the race. Before the giant could return, the brothers climbed up a big tree standing by the river.

Finally the man-eater came back and took up his heavy basket, expecting to have a nice dinner. Upon his arrival home, he ordered his wife to place the pot on the stove. Soon the water was boiling and the wife, not knowing the real contents of the basket, lifted it up and dumped its contents into the pot. So all of a sudden, the stones went through, the pot and put out the fire. The giant, Guisorab, who had fallen asleep after his arrival, was awakened by the noise produced by the stones pouring into the pot. "Cursed be those little fellows. Why did they fool me?" roared the giant. "I will search for them and eat them."

Then he ran back to the place, full of anger. He looked toward the sun; but he sneezed so much that he was forced to look into the water. There he saw the shadows of the brothers in the tree. "Ah, there you

226

226 **FISHING**--species sought (e.g., fish, shellfish); gathering of marine fauna; fishing methods and techniques (e.g., hook and line, nets, poison); description and use of traps and weirs; special elaborations (e.g., fishing for sport); economic importance of fishing; organization of labor and division of catch; associated beliefs and practices; fishing for sport; regulation (e.g., licenses); etc.

See also:

Native fauna	136	Net manufacture	286
Manufacture of poisons	278	Boats	501

his children earlier and more extensively than any other work. At the same time he believes in the division of labor; so even in this respect, among the Isneg, the two sexes simply complement one another. 462 241

The agricultural system of the Isneg is a very wasteful one, as he never plants his rice in the same field for two consecutive years. He has to clear every year a part of the forest or bush: now this work is the exclusive duty of the men. A father tells and shows his boy which part of the forest or bush should be chosen for a future field; then both start the work by cutting down small trees and undergrowth, and finish it by burning the dried plants. The boy imitates his father during the whole procedure, but an occasional hint on the part of the parent is rarely absent, especially in the case of the smaller boys. Then comes the turn of the women, to whom from now on the whole work devolves almost exclusively. The mother teaches her girls how to plant rice, corn, taro, yams, sweet potatoes and the rest, how to weed the fields, and how to harvest the crops. The only time at which the father, with the boys as his pupils, intervenes is when a fence has to be erected around the field. 462 241 868

In brief, almost everything relating to agriculture is formally taught to the children, but it is done in such a way that they can immediately start practising what they have learned, by imitating their elders. The only exception is the original clearing of a chosen field, which is learned by imitation alone; at that time of course the boy should already be old enough to wield at least a small headax, and consequently he must have seen his father at work in former years, and needs no further instruction on the subject. 868 462

Pounding rice and preparing the meals are never taught: just as soon as a girl is old enough, she helps her mother, and picks these things up just naturally Even boys learn how to cook a simple meal (and all Isneg meals deserve that qualification) in the same way, as later on, especially when travelling, they will have to do it without the assistance of the women. [252]

Hunting, fishing and preparing trees for apiculture, which are men's pursuits, are learned almost exclusively by imitation: a boy sees what others do, whether they be his older relatives or just some other boys who have already been initiated into the secrets of the game, and he acts like they do. That an occasional word of instruction or warning may be offered the young man, cannot be denied, but as a whole no formal teaching takes place. [222 226]

After the death of one of their relatives, the Isneg also *lapatán* or 765
taboo some of the coconut trees that belonged to the deceased. Such
trees are easily recognizable, as one always finds a certain quantity 245
of strips of bamboo or of thorny branches or of both, tied all around
the tree, at the height of one's shoulders. I know of a couple of Iloko
teachers who, knowing nothing about this custom, climbed a tabooed
coconut tree, in order to drop down some of the fruits and eat them;
unfortunately they were caught by the owners and got free only after
the payment of a heavy fine. If they had been natives of the district,
they would not have escaped so easily, although I doubt very much
if an Isneg would ever dare break such a taboo.

Coconuts that have been gathered at the time of the owner's death 251
are also declared taboo, and nobody is allowed to partake of them
until the time of the *obóbăt;* if no such ceremony takes place (which 765
must be a rare contingency) the fruits are left to decay. At the time
of the *obóbăt*, however, they are declared *inúkas* or free, and everybody
is allowed to consume them.

The following are the *lapăt* or taboos that have to do with fishing: 226

1. It is usually forbidden to catch fish in that part of the river or
brook that passes near the settlement in which a person died. This 765
taboo is lifted only at the time of the *obóbăt*. The tabooed section,
which is said to be *mabalsiyán*, is marked off at both ends by green
leafy canes of bamboo grass (Miscanthus sinénsis) stuck in the bottom
of the river or brook.

2. If the relatives of the deceased claim the exclusive right of fishing in a certain part of a river or brook, this section or *anáwaṅ* remains tabooed until the *obóbăt* or completion of the mourning period.

It is forbidden to work on two days, namely on the second day 765
after the funeral, the *taribukáy*, and on the day following the *obóbăt*
ceremony. This obligatory rest is called *túlin*, and any work done on 527
such a day is considered useless and inevitably subject to being completely spoiled.

A widow or widower is forbidden to visit the relatives of the deceased 765
husband or wife for the whole period that elapses between
burial and *obóbăt*. Infringement of this taboo would cause the whole 574
body of the culprit to swell up. The same punishment would be 262
inflicted on a widow or widower who would dare eat mushrooms
(*óoṅ*) or *úbud* (young shoots of some palm trees, as the *anibóṅ* or 824
fishtail palm, etc.).

The cats and dogs are kept fed and are treated 231
more as pets by the Apayaos than by most Orientals.
The women refuse to eat the flesh of the dog at feasts.
All the livestock are treated kindly. The men work [461]
industriously while at it; but take plenty of time for
leisure and companionship. They could all become
relatively wealthy in this land of plenty but are usual-
ly content with enough to satisfy their simple wants;
and thus they might be called well-to-do.

The general utility tool is the *aliwa*: a thin-bladed, 412
somewhat rhombic-shaped axe with the back point
drawn out. Another type is sort of cleaver shaped
and is called a *badang*. The head is affixed to a well-
shaped hardwood handle. It is nicely balanced and a
very handy tool. The man carries this axe, *aliwa*,
with him everywhere. It is used for all cutting pur-
poses. The blacksmiths do excellent work. Hard 325
stone anvils and hammers are used. The bellows are
two hollow wooden cylinders set on end. They are
fitted with feather-ringed pistons pumped alternately
by the blacksmith's helper, giving a steady forced
draft on the fire. Smiths have been manufacturing
aliwas, spear heads, hoes, and other implements here,
from time immemorial.

The primitive method of fishing is to dive down 226
in a deep pool in the river where the fish are lying.
Down there, they are not frightened by another body;
so a good fisherman can grab one in each hand. How-
ever, a short, light, barbed arrow shot from a bam-
boo bow is generally used. During the dry season a
pool in the stream may be drained and the fish picked
up. Sometimes the fish are poisoned with tobacco 000

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681 makers. It is notable that the fines are not paid to the government, but to the injured party, who receives the suitable indemnity. This may be in the form of jars, beads, animals, and other valuables.

000 Banaba kept looking for food for his brother and sister. They lived on shoots of bamboo and some fruits; while the mother in the house just slept and ate; not thinking a bit of her hungry children, who were lost in the forest.

After three nights under the tree, an old man appeared to the children and said, "Live here and I will take care of you." He stayed with them and built a house. As he left, he gave them an *aliwa* which had the property that, whenever the *aliwa* should cut anything, it would give the children food, clothing, pigs, chickens; in fact, every thing which they needed.

Then the old man left and the lost children became well to do while the mother began to suffer hunger, as she had eaten all the provisions which her late husband had left. She heard of the wealth of her children and came searching for them. She found them and lived with them ever after.

THE STORY OF THE SKELETON

There was a man, Donkoan. His wife died, leaving
[226] several children. He arranged with one son to go fishing in the night. They prepared rattan to string the fish on, and dried sticks for the torch. Then they went and caught many fish. The load became heavy for the son and he wanted to go home; but the father wanted more fish. So they string some of the fish on the rattan in the water and fished on up the river. Thus they came to a far place where there were houses. "See the light in the houses," said the son. "Those are only our relatives, my son. I will go and

231

231 **DOMESTICATED ANIMALS**--captive and tamed animals; domesticated insects (e.g., silkworms, bees); pets (e.g., dogs, cats); domestic animals; special treatment and uses of each; taming and training; care and feeding; grooming; slaughtering; associated beliefs and rituals; economic and social importance of animal husbandry; diseases; etc. See also:

Work in furs, hides, and skins	281	Names of animals	552
Work in bone and horn	321	Animals as wealth	556
Animal shelters	343	Ethnozoology	825
Use of animals in transportation	492		

241 Here I shall merely mention those that are of a general nature and liable to attack any kind of plantation.

241 The wild boar (*lamán*) is without doubt the enemy par excellence.
136 The Isneg farmer dreads it more thany any other, and not without reason: it respects absolutely nothing, and its depredations are sometimes very great. Next to it you have the deer (*ugtá*), which devastates rice fields, plantations of sugar cane, and the rest. Both these animals prowl about mostly at night, and this makes them the more dangerous, as darkness is their strong auxiliary, while it leaves the field or garden and its owner almost defenseless. The only thing for the Isneg farmer to do is to be diligent in watching his crops. Now and again he must go and visit (*so-báń*) them, and see if any damage has been wrought by roving animals. Should it happen that a wild boar has attempted to enter or has actually entered his field or garden, he must not fail to go on succeeding evenings to lie in wait (*manákar*) at the place where the animal has left signs of its presence, and kill it or at least badly frighten it at its first appearance.

In the daytime you have the jungle fowl (*ditálon, itálon* or *kasí*), which, although less destructive, may easily bring to nought the work of several days, especially in fields that have been sowed recently or whose plants are still very young.

241 Even domesticated animals sometimes imitate their wild forbears:
● 231 the hog (*ábuy*) and the barnyard fowl (*anú-*) have to be watched almost as carefully as those just mentioned.

241 Add to these the rats, which are often a pest that should be exter-
789 minated at any price.

More subtle enemies, however, are the *arrád*, a kind of green caterpillar that devour the leaves of young plants. The best and easiest way to get rid of them is to place a *lattóń* in the infected field. This *lattóń* is a little jar filled with an assortment of small herbs and covered with a red cloth: it causes the *arrád* to decamp at once and to look for safer quarters.

789 Besides these well-known enemies, the fields have a good many others that are not so easily detected. These are your own neighbors who feel jealous of your prosperity, and consequently practise all kinds of incantations in order to destroy (*sagsaggán*, "to impede the growth")[17] the young plants of your field or garden. These malevolent persons are said to *manadál* (to destroy with the use of herbs, etc.). Paddy affected thereby becomes yellow and dies.

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[17] The same term also means "to make a girl pregnant".

342 arch, and the end peaks of the ridge are extended outwardly
335 to a remarkable distance. The roof line runs
from these peaks in long, graceful inward curves down
to the corners of the building. Two by four inch
purlins spaced at about six feet are placed on the trusses;
and over these are bent the two by two inch roof
rafters, spaced at about a foot, on which is laid a mat
of *runo* (a tall reed-like grass) stalks. On this support
is fastened, shingle-fashion, a thick layer of *runo*
tops, which have long leaves. This thatch will probably
last for fifteen years before it needs renewal.
Durable rattan is used for all fastenings. The two
by twelve inch floor joists are set about a foot apart
on heavy sills some twelve feet above the ground. The
flooring is a mat of long lengths of pencil-sized round
rattan. The floor sills are secured to the insides of
[352] the posts; while the wall sills are on the outside. The
two-foot space between is finished in a low, raised
platform running around the four sides of the room.
This is used for sitting, and for storage of various articles,
leaving the floor clear. The walls are of hewn
inch boards placed perpendicularly and set in grooves
cut in the top and bottom sills. There are three very
small windows on each side of the house and one small
door on one side toward an end. The wooden coverings
[417] of these openings, close flush with the walls. Entrance
[355] to the door from the ground is gained by a
[231] ladder which is pulled in at night. There are also
several dogs which start howling at the slightest unusual
noise. Thus, the occupants are quite secure
from their enemies at night.

[352] There is little furniture in the house. On the
354 floor near one corner, opposite the door, is placed a

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pool in the stream may be drained and the fish picked
up. Sometimes the fish are poisoned with tobacco 000

241

241 **TILLAGE**--plants cultivated and their relative importance; special treatment accorded each crop; intensity of cultivation (e.g., brand tillage); clearing of land; soil preparation (e.g., hoeing, plowing); use of fertilizers and irrigation; planting; care and protection of growing crops (e.g., weeding, fencing, scarecrows); tools and implements used; economic importance, and adequacy for needs, of agriculture; organization of labor and production; distribution of products; agricultural beliefs, taboos, and rituals; etc. See also:

Agricultural tools and appliances	41	Manufacture of agricultural machines	392
Annual cycle of economic activities	221	Agricultural machines	407
Landuse	311	Fences	417
Irrigation systems	312	Ceremonial calendar	796
Granaries and barns	343	Ethnobotany	824
Fertilizer manufacture	387		

462 I: "Of course, why shouldn't you:"

He: "But I never did that; I do not know anything about it."

I: "That is very easy though; and you are not too old to learn. Can you not do like this?" [Here I mimicked the action of a woman who makes holes in the ground for planting the seeds].

He: "Wouldn't that be funny. Have you ever seen a man doing a woman's work?"

I: "I do not see anything funny about it, if you need to do so in order to live."

He: "No, sir, that is not our business; that is woman's work; without a woman we can do nothing. I cannot help it, but that is the custom. Woman's work for a woman, man's work for a man."

856 It is also a fact that boys help their father and girls their mother as soon as they are able to do so. No sooner have they gained the 861 required strength but they will be given some necessary implement in [868] order to learn its use. Very often, especially in the case of the headax (*aliwá*) of men, which is of universal use and serves almost any purpose, the instrument at first will be a small or light one, provided it serves the purpose, to be superseded later on by a heavier one of the same nature. Whereas a child usually accompanies, first its mother, and later on one of its parents according to its sex, it is but natural that it should also offer them its help, as soon as it has gained sufficient strength. Although at first the help may be very slight and insignificant, the Isneg does not lose sight of the fact that this early exercise and practice will be of great benefit to the child, and that in the end it will accrue to his own advantage.

861 Imitative types of play are very little practised, as may be deduced from the above: the children very soon have to do the real thing, why should they occupy themselves with imitations? Nevertheless it may happen that they imitate in play a certain work which is still beyond their strength: so I have seen little Isneg girls playing at pounding and winnowing rice, with sand for rice, a small hole in the ground for a mortar, a stick for a pestle, and some large leaf for a winnow; [524] but these are exceptions, and not at all frequent ones. Incidentally it may be mentioned that dolls are unknown to our little Isneg maidens; a real child will be thrust upon them as soon as they are able to carry it.

462 And now as to the sundry occupations of the Isneg.

241 An Isneg is a farmer above anything else, so no wonder that agriculture is not only his chief pursuit, but also that which is taught

his children earlier and more extensively than any other work. At 462
the same time he believes in the division of labor; so even in this 241
respect, among the Isneg, the two sexes simply complement one another.

The agricultural system of the Isneg is a very wasteful one, as he 462
never plants his rice in the same field for two consecutive years. He
has to clear every year a part of the forest or bush: now this work is 241
the exclusive duty of the men. A father tells and shows his boy 868
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44: Vanoverbergh

OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

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/For detailed information on Isneg agriculture, which has been filed in other specific categories, see category 116, the entire source/

44: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1941 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Iseg

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THE ISNEG FARMER

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INTRODUCTION

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241 The Isneg are farmers. It is not necessary to have lived a long time among them to know that: the fact is patent; it obtrudes itself almost at every step, almost at every moment.

The chief crop of the Isneg is rice. This is evident not only from the fact that their staple food is rice, but also from the minute care they bestow on their rice fields. All other products of the soil are subordinate to rice, and nothing is left to chance when there is question of raising a good rice crop. They are so meticulous about it that, in a study of their farm activities, all other plants seem to be of little or no importance. The truth of this statement will thrust itself upon anybody who peruses the following pages.

121 I shall first make a few remarks about Isneg farming in general. Then I shall describe as accurately as possible the Isneg method of raising rice. After that I shall say a few words about other products

is who finds a means to keep the wolf from the door. On occasions 433
like these, it is clearly apparent how training and experience have
rendered the Isneg girl fit for meeting almost any kind of emergency, 731
while the customary indolence of the male makes him an easy prey 157
to downheartedness, so much so that he becomes utterly unable to
save himself and his family from the pangs of hunger.

If we come to consider the situation from the point of view of the 433
Isneg, it is not to be wondered at that nowadays famines are of rather
frequent occurrence in Apayaw. Indeed, foreign authorities have 731
invaded the land: not understanding the position of the Isneg with 791
reference to the tutelary spirits of the country, they have all but 721
extirpated headhunting. What can be expected after this? Being 782
denied their usual offerings, the spirits stop protecting the crops. It
is true that the Isneg does not cease to propitiate them by all possible 241
means, but the great sacrifice has been rendered almost impossible,
and so the fields have become a prey to evil imps, while the protectors
of the rice, the purveyors of the Isneg, have become either powerless
or indifferent.

Nevertheless, under ordinary circumstances, the average Isneg raises 433
enough rice to last him and his family for a year. He may not be
able to store it up for future consumption, but what he has usually 782
keeps him alive from one harvest to the next, and besides almost
always allows him to offer an occasional sacrifice to the spirits and
to invite his relatives and neighbors to the ceremony. Such is the
normal state of affairs with the great majority of the people.

Now in almost every agglomeration one will find at least one man who is styled "rich" (*ba-nán*), a man who raises rice in abundance (*aragammáy*) and consequently is able to offer one or more solemn sacrifices every year and to provide food to the inhabitants of several villages for days at a time. However, these so-called rich people do not fare any better than the average citizen, as their surplus is easily consumed at their *sǎy-ám* or solemn sacrifices.

On the other hand, there are always a few who may be called poor 433
(*nakimrút*): their rice, if they raise any at all, never lasts them the
whole year round, and, in the meanwhile, they have to content themselves 731
with Indian corn, yams, taro and the rest; but only in times 262
of famine, are they obliged to feed on coconut flowers and other outlandish 735
foods. Others again seem never to be able to make both ends
meet: these are the *síbud*; their rice, which should be sufficient for
ordinary persons, is usually gone almost before they are aware of it,

44: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1941 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

When you have to start a certain work and want it finished quickly, 824
go and look for a little herb, called *tagalárat* in Bayag: it is about 789
five or six inches tall, has comparatively long leaves, and grows almost anywhere. After you have found it, take it along and put it down somewhere near the place where you begin working: in less than no time you will be through with everything.

In order to assure the healthy growth of any kind of plant, before you start sowing or planting, stick some part of a *litáw* in the ground somewhere at the place where you begin. The stem and the leaves of the *litáw*, which is a climbing plant, are both of the same color: they are uniformly green.

When your plants have taken root (*naggamúit*), or, which amounts to the same, if they live (*mabiyág*), it is the farmer's duty to see that they become strong. The surest way to obtain such a result is to go and look for a herb, called *tagabilag* at Bayag, and to attach it to one of the plants in question. It causes the whole field or garden to be covered with the most luxuriant vegetation and to produce a growth that can weather almost any storm. The *tagabilag* may be found all over the district: it is rather tall, some ten inches, and bears white flowers and red fruits.

Another herb, called *gátud* at Bayag, of the same habitat as the preceding, but rather low, may be used with profit in connection with the gathering of crops. It should be tied to one of the plants that have to be reaped, and if nothing untoward intervenes, the farmer may rest assured that his soil will yield a most bountiful harvest.

To avoid the occurrence of landslides, which often play havoc not 731
only with plantations, but with dwellings and granaries as well, the 824
Isneg plant *nagbăyúgăn* on or near the spot they want to protect: 789
one single plant is sufficient, and it is not necessary to have it multiply. The *nagbăyúgăn* is a stout herb, usually some two feet tall: it spreads a very agreeable odor, has comparatively long leaves, and, according to the natives, bears no flowers.

But the enemies of a man's fields and gardens are numerous and 241
powerful: some of them are able to destroy in less than one hour what it has taken you weeks and months to build up. Therefore all Isneg farmers should know who they are and make a thorough study of all the means at their disposal for combating them and protecting the fruit of their labor. The dangers that threaten the life or growth of any particular kind of plant will be treated in their proper place.

241 Here I shall merely mention those that are of a general nature and liable to attack any kind of plantation.

241 136 The wild boar (*lamán*) is without doubt the enemy par excellence. The Isneg farmer dreads it more thany any other, and not without reason: it respects absolutely nothing, and its depredations are sometimes very great. Next to it you have the deer (*ugtá*), which devastates rice fields, plantations of sugar cane, and the rest. Both these animals prowl about mostly at night, and this makes them the more dangerous, as darkness is their strong auxiliary, while it leaves the field or garden and its owner almost defenseless. The only thing for the Isneg farmer to do is to be diligent in watching his crops. Now and again he must go and visit (*so-báñ*) them, and see if any damage has been wrought by roving animals. Should it happen that a wild boar has attempted to enter or has actually entered his field or garden, he must not fail to go on succeeding evenings to lie in wait (*manákar*) at the place where the animal has left signs of its presence, and kill it or at least badly frighten it at its first appearance.

In the daytime you have the jungle fowl (*ditálon*, *itálon* or *kasí*), which, although less destructive, may easily bring to nought the work of several days, especially in fields that have been sowed recently or whose plants are still very young.

241 231 Even domesticated animals sometimes imitate their wild forbears: the hog (*ábuy*) and the barnyard fowl (*anú-*) have to be watched almost as carefully as those just mentioned.

241 781 Add to these the rats, which are often a pest that should be exterminated at any price.

More subtle enemies, however, are the *arrád*, a kind of green caterpillar that devour the leaves of young plants. The best and easiest way to get rid of them is to place a *lattóñ* in the infected field. This *lattóñ* is a little jar filled with an assortment of small herbs and covered with a red cloth: it causes the *arrád* to decamp at once and to look for safer quarters.

789 Besides these well-known enemies, the fields have a good many others that are not so easily detected. These are your own neighbors who feel jealous of your prosperity, and consequently practise all kinds of incantations in order to destroy (*sagsaggán*, " to impede the growth ")[17] the young plants of your field or garden. These malevolent persons are said to *manadál* (to destroy with the use of herbs, etc.). Paddy affected thereby becomes yellow and dies.

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[17] The same term also means " to make a girl pregnant ".

A shaman, for instance, who envies the result of your labor, may 789 pronounce the following words:

"*Napiyǎ no lamúsan năyá kalkaltóñ*" (It would be good if the *kalkaltóñ* ate it), and these insects will start destroying everything, cutting down not only the tender stalk of the rice, but even the sturdy petioles of the taro.

Or any ill-intentioned person may take it into its head to throw 824 *aniăg*-herbs into your fields or gardens. The *aniăg* is a very low herb 789 that grows almost in any place, and looks very innocuous; but if it touches any of your plants, these will soon be devoured by a whole legion of rats, wild boars, and the rest. Indeed, this herb proves such a strong attraction to them that the Isneg put it on their *balít*-traps in order to cause wild boars to come along and be caught.

One might easily become disheartened when seeing how easy it is for an evil-minded person to cause the destruction of a field that is most promising; but this should not be so, because you must always remember that the good and kind-hearted spirits have provided you with a remedy for every evil. And so, if you see that there is something wrong with your farm, go and gather *bali-*, a kind of woody vine that grows in the forest and is covered all around with thorns that face the roots. As soon as any part of this vine is placed in your field, it immediately wards off all danger and transfers the latter to the farm of your neighbor. Then it is up to the latter to look out for himself. The same *bali-* has also the virtue to save you from being poisoned: it merely transfers the danger to somebody else.

All this goes to show that the career of an Isneg farmer is not as 241 easy as it looks. Nevertheless he does not seem to mind, and he continues to live a care-free life. In Apayaw, the soil is usually fertile; plots that are exceptionally bad are easily detected by the presence of *anamág*-ferns, which thrive only on ground that is absolutely useless; and rainfall is abundant. Therefore the Isneg is able to raise almost any kind of plants at the expenditure of a minimum of exertion. Should incantations and evil imps haunt him, he has simple means to counteract their influence: his own magical practices and the help of the good spirits, his protectors. One thing, however, is of capital importance, namely his yearly rice crop; if it fails him, ruin stares him in the face.

And so we have come to the most important part of this treatise: rice.

243 789 782 There are a few other amulets that may be placed on the palay in the granary, at any time:

Aggassip: A low herb with white flowers, found all over the district. It causes the rice to last long.

Amagpaggáñ: A herb, some twelve inches tall, with small leaves, growing in forests.

Anaxupgá: A herb, some twelve inches tall, with small leaves, red flowers and brown fruits. It is found in the forest and, placed in the granary, helps the owners to economize their rice.

Anúpug: A herb, some eight inches tall, growing in forested areas.

Indág: A low herb, found almost anywhere.

Rakkád: A herb, growing all over the district.

When all the rice has been garnered, a small *báña*-jar containing rice pudding is placed in the filled *álañ* (granary), as an offering to Pilay. It is called *túxan*, the same name as that of the food brought to the reapers by a man (*manúxan*) from the village.

Finally the Isneg close the door of the granary and provide it with *takkég*-ferns and *addó*-sedges (Scleria sp.), at the outside.

III. The Isneg Garden

241 The garden or *kadánan* is a plot of ground where some time in the past rice has been grown. No garden plants are raised on virgin soil; rice always precedes them. Sometimes the *kadánan* has already served that purpose for one or more years, sometimes it is merely a *kómān* or part of a *kómān* from which rice has just been harvested.

Except for the necessity of having palay precede all other plants, the possibility or probability of raising successfully some special kind of plant on a given plot of ground is the only determinant for the choice of a garden plot. The Isneg merely studies the nature of the soil and its adaptability to the growing of certain products, according to his own experience or that of his elders.

The Isneg garden is always surrounded by a fence, either the usual one (*abút*) or, in case the man is too lazy to make a regular fence, the *balakkawit* (strips of bamboo stuck in the ground at both ends so as to form a series of arches).

To prepare a garden, the first thing to be done is to clear the ground (*mañadánan*). When the garden is built on level ground, this work is called *maxónut*, just as in the case of a *kómān*. If the garden is new, that is, if it is made from a rice field that has just been harvested, the bulk of the weeds consists of *daxádag* (rice straw) or *sápi* (aftermath of palay or rowen); if old, any kind of herbs and bushes may have been invading the soil.

Once the plants have attained a certain height, the Isneg proceeds to the weeding of the garden: this is called *magkípug*, the equivalent of the *ballát* (weeding) of the *kóman* or rice field.

There is no comparison between the value of a *kóman* and that of a *kadánan* in the eyes of an Isneg. Therefore, although a good deal of work is equally spent on both, the numerous amulets and magical practices that have been recorded in the description of the growing of rice, are reduced almost to zero when there is question of raising garden products. The spirits themselves seem to look disdainfully at anything but palay. The spirit *A[illegible]baán* is the only exception: he does not care a fig for rice, but kills unmercifully anybody who dares steal products of the garden that have been left behind after the general harvest. Consequently he takes his abode there only after the fruits have been gathered; and then he probably considers as his own whatever has been left.

The Isneg raises a great variety of garden plants, the most important being: Indian corn (*mait*),[73] taro (*siwáy*), sweet potatoes (*kamusí*), sugar cane (*unát*), bananas (*báxat*) and yams (*úbi*). I shall treat each of these in detail, and then give a complete list of the rest.

Although I call them all by the general name of garden products, that does not mean that some of them may not be planted in other places besides the fenced *kadánan*, at least in reduced quantities. Indeed, it is not a rare occurrence to find a limited number of stalks of sugar-cane, a few bananas, etc., in or around the house yard, and yams are grown almost anywhere. Everything depends on the nature of the plant in question and on the danger of devastation by obnoxious animals: small quantities of any kind of garden plant are easily guarded even though unfenced, when they are grown near the house, while large plantations of sugar cane and sweet potatoes, for instance, are liable to be ravaged by wild boars if kept unfenced, and the room they need can hardly be found except at some distance from the village; and yams are much more resistant to the depredations of animals than are most other *kadánan* products.

Before I proceed, allow me to explain how Indian corn, taro and

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[73] In some places the name *kadánan*, "garden", is not applied to fields of Indian corn.

Their vegetables may be: tomatoes, egg- 262
plants, squash, peppers, corn, beans, camote, gabi, or [244
yams. Fruits may be: bananas, coconuts, pineapples, 245]
jack fruit, oranges, lemons, guavas, melons, *lucban*,
mangoes, or papaya. The beverages may be: coffee, [272]
cocoa, or water. Honey is included in the diet. From [263]
sugar cane are produced candied fruits and vegetables,
molasses, *basi*, and vinegar. A strong tobacco is raised 276
and smoked—sometimes in a small pipe; but generally
one leaf is rolled into a small cigar. Both men and
women smoke. Boys and girls start smoking at an
early age.

In growing these things, the people do not use ir- 311
rigation; but follow the *kaiñgin* method of farming. 241
A suitable piece of wild land is selected. The vegetation [312]
is cut down, allowed to dry, and then burnt. Seeds
are planted in the ashen earth by making a hole with
a sharp stick and dropping a seed in it The plot is [417]
is enclosed with a bamboo fence. The men clear and [462]
fence the land, while the women do much of the rest
of the work. In two years the soil has become leached
and packed by the heavy tropical rains and so sterile
that a new *kaiñgin* is made elsewhere.

The rice is an upland variety which does not re- 243
quire much water. The seeds are planted during the
beginning of the rainy season in April and May. When
ripe, the heads are cut off by hand, using a miniature
aliwa. These heads are gathered into bundles, tied, and [251
then stored in a specially built square granary whose 343]
architectural design follows that of the house. Tobacco 249
and vegetables are usually planted during January af- 244
ter the harvest, in the *kaiñgins* where rice was grown.

When the woman wishes some rice to cook, she 252
threshes several bundles on a mat or skin with a club; 412

773 821 it struck the sky. The sky became frightened and raised up, causing a great commotion, and the trees were torn out of the ground.

776 [771] To the family of Hatan, I will add the names of some other *anitos*. The tendency is for them to lessen in scope, in number, and in interest (i.e.—toward monagony). First I will mention some good *anitos*.

776 527 242 *Kaybacan* is the guardian of the house. A feast, *pildap*, is given to him upon completion of a new house. Small spears are placed there in the house where he stays. Whenever there is meat, a small portion is placed on the spears. Otherwise the family will get [704] sick. No eels, deer, or mud fish are brought into the house; for the *anito* dislikes their smell and would run away, leaving the family to sicken and die.

776 241 *Pilay* is the guardian of the farm. He lives in the granary. If a stranger touches it, he becomes lame. A small feast, *pespes*, is given to him at the beginning of the harvest.

Ambungan is the guardian of the rice harvest. Before harvest one must mix some burnt rice with shredded coconut and eat it under a certain big tree [821] where he is. If the owner does not do this, strong winds and rain will come and blow down the grain.

776 *Danag* is the guardian of the fishermen and hunters; while *Ayan* induces the wild pig to run into the trap; but *Siwasion* helps the wild pig and deer to avoid the hunters.

Daguan makes one strong to work, and *Manglanbang* is the guardian of the warrior; while *Panugatang* is the guide. *Sangasan* guards the entrance to the *barangay*.

46: Wilson F-8 (no date) 1947 OA1 Philippines
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Sugar-cane and tobacco growing in a kaiñgin. Coffee, banana and orange trees are also there.

-26B-

787 on the way. So he must return, sit down, and wait awhile before setting out again.

If a man on his way to make *kaiñgin* meets a rat or hears a deer barking, the rat or the deer will eat all the rice plants in that place. So he must start another *kaiñgin*. Also, if he should happen to break his *aliwa*, some one in his family will die if he does not make his *kaiñgin* in another place.

784 Moreover there are many things which one is prohibited from doing. Some of these taboos are:

Do not leave the windows of the house open at night. If you do, a ghost, *alolag*, will come in and kill the people.

Do not cut your finger nails nor pull out any of your hair while working. If you do, you will get sick.

Do not leave while one is still eating in the house. If you do, you will get sick.

784 Do not eat the heart of a pig when a little child.
262 If you do, you will have misfortune.

Do not eat sour things if some one has died in the house, unless he is a relative.

Do not eat venison during the harvest season. If you so, your stomach will become large like the deer's, and you will consume too much rice.

784 Do not speak angrily at a rat. If you do, the rats will eat all there is in the house.

784 Do not laugh while planting *ubi* or *camote*. If
241 you do, these root vegetables will laugh so that all their skins will be found to be burst open when you harvest them.

Do not look up while planting bananas. If you do, the plants will grow so tall that it will be hard to pick the fruit.

IV. *INNAS*

539

First Group: *Ki kayo ñga calagaab*
Intada ñga magdowas
Innas sa ianno onnas inballoballog ogennas.

2nd Group: *Ay yo diamno dowas*
Aed ac lagud aumicad
Ta piniac makilaglagaak
Ki kao nga kalabeat.

First Group: Oh! beloved brethren,
Let us love one another.
Allright: forget the past and
Let us all love together.

2nd Group: Here I am with you, love;
Yes, I am here with you;
I want to be happy
With you my beloved brethren.

COSMOLOGY

Apayaos say that the earth is flat with edges, off 772
which the water flows and is caught by the moon 821
which returns it to the earth as rain. You can tell 823
when this will be done by observing the new moon. 221
If its tips (forming a container) are horizontal it 241
will not rain. If one tip is down, the water will run 805
out and it will rain. Camotes are planted during the
first and the last quarters of the moon. The positions
of ursa major and ursa minor determine the time of
planting most of the food crops. This is done by co- [476]
operative planting, *abugo*.

● 241 784 527 Harvest is started in the wax of the moon. In each *barangay* there is a chosen woman, *gomanay* (beginner of harvest) who goes ceremoniously to each field in turn and cuts the first bundle of rice and stores it in the granary. She must observe many taboos and no one else may come near the field for two days prior to cutting. During the first five days of harvest no one visits the owners house nor asks for fire. No fuel is cut nor rice pounded. The *anito* must not be frightened. Otherwise planting and honest are gala seasons.

[805] Each full of the moon is observed as a holiday; also as the first thunder and first rainbow in the season. In the full of the moon the granary (in which all the rice cut has been stored) is first opened by another chosen woman, *Manginas*, who goes ceremoniously, before dawn and takes out three bundles only, which she pounds and cooks. She eats first; but she must not take a bath nor eat fish nor chew betel-nut [479] all that day. Those who worked in that rice field then receive their share of the crop.

821 784 During an eclipse of the moon no work is done and likewise during an earthquake, which is caused in this way: deep under the earth in great cave, there lives a huge eel and a crab. When the crab pinches the eel he wiggles, and so shakes the earth.

821 Once the sun and moon had a quarrel. The moon beat the sun with a broom; and so the sun struck the moon with a fire brand giving it a dimmer light and leaving a scar where it struck.

242

242 **AGRICULTURAL SCIENCE**--practical and scientific knowledge of plant breeding, soils, and parasites; related practices (e.g., seed selection, hybridization, crop rotation, spraying); agricultural experiment and extension work; organization and specialized personnel; etc. See also:

Conservation policy	185	Ethnobotany	824
Veterinary science and stock breeding	232	Agricultural education	874
Applied science	816		

One of the greatest enemies of the Isneg farmer is the locust [242] (*dódon*), and consequently it will not seem strange that he is usually [731] well acquainted with the names of several varieties of rice that can withstand these pests most effectually. We have, among others: 243

The *paturáy*, without awns (*íbo*);

The *ortó-*, also awnless, and with rather small kernels: it is said by the Isneg to remain on the field even though all other varieties be consumed by locusts;

The *kuritáy*, which has very tough leaves, no awns, and thin 243 elongated kernels: it is comparatively rare and often used for purposes 781 of divination. Knead a ball of cooked *kuritáy*-rice and throw it a certain distance: if it falls down in a compact mass, you are sure to live long; should it break up or be smashed to pieces, the span of your life will be a short one.

In the same line may be mentioned the *binoóxan*, which is supposed to be immune from the depredations of wild animals.

Then we have the *madíliya* (evidently from the Spanish *medalla*, 243 "medal", which may be the reason why it is used for an amulet, as 257 will be seen under the description of the preparation of seeds for planting), a kind of *dékat* or oily rice. The sweets made from this variety remain soft for a considerable time, even to the third and fourth "night", as the Isneg puts it, who counts by nights, not by days.

The tallest and largest variety of rice is called *tăyútăy*: its husk 243 is very light-colored.

The *xirxirá-* is the despair of the housewife, as it is exceedingly hard to pound: its husk is variegated and it has no awns.

It sometimes happens that the Isneg plants several varieties of rice or palay [18] in one and the same field; but, if he does so, he is always careful to keep each variety to its own patch of ground and not to plant them indiscriminately all over the field. In this case, each variety is known by the name of *xánan*. Thus, when the Isneg says that he has three *xánan* in his field, he means that his field is divided into three sections, each of them planted with a different variety of palay. It should be noted though that the name *xánan* is applied to the rice that grows there and not to the patch of soil in which it is planted.

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[18] A name which is used extensively all over the Islands and means "rice in the husk or paddy".

243

243 **CEREAL AGRICULTURE**--specialized cultivation of cereal crops (e.g., maize, millet, rice, wheat); techniques of planting and harvesting (e.g., transplantation, threshing); use of specialized tools, equipment, and machinery; organization of labor and production; etc. See also:

Milling industry	256	Harvesting and threshing machinery	407

II. RICE

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192
In the estimation of the Isneg, rice is paramount. Even though no other proofs of this statement were available, the fact that, in Isneg, rice has three different names would suggest it. And by this I do not mean that there are three kinds or three varieties of rice, as in reality they are legion, but that the general English term " rice " has three Isneg equivalents.

Paddy, rice in the husk, unhusked rice, whether growing or cut, is called *ammáy*. Once it has been pounded or milled, it goes by the name of *baggát*, thus " rice " as it is known to most people of Europe and America. Besides, this same term *baggát*, which primarily refers to husked rice, is also applied to a good many other things, with the meaning of " substance ", " most important part (edible root of a plant, etc.) ", " fruit ", etc. Then we have unhusked rice or paddy that is *nabgát*, " well filled ", in contradistinction to that which is *lappit*, " empty ". A third name, *nabáw*, is the exclusive appellation of " cooked rice ". And so no Isneg, even though he were the most ignorant of his tribe, would ever think of saying that he is going to cook or eat *ammáy*, to harvest *baggát*, or to store up *nabáw* in his granary. He harvests *ammáy*, cooks *baggát* and eats *nabáw*.

In general the Isneg distinguish between *bukaká* (whether *ammáy*, *baggát* or *nabáw*), the usual food, and *dékat* or *díkat* (whether *ammáy*, *baggát* or *nabáw*), very oily rice, chiefly used for puddings and the like. Each of these two, especially the *bukaká*, has a great number of varieties, which it would take me too long to enumerate in detail, the more so that in different villages the same variety is often known by entirely different names. It would take a conscientious investigator more than a little of his time to write down in all Isneg agglomerations the names and the distinctive characteristics of each and every variety of rice known to the inhabitants; and, even though he had the leisure and inclination to do so, I doubt if the list would ever be complete and the description entirely accurate, as now and then new names have a way of popping up unexpectedly, and one and the same variety of rice may be known to two individuals by two different names, while the same name may sometimes be applied to two or more varieties by people living considerably apart from one another.

Nevertheless I shall give here the names of a few varieties of rice that have some outstanding characteristics.

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Then we have the *madíliya* (evidently from the Spanish *medalla*, 243
" medal ", which may be the reason why it is used for an amulet, as 257
will be seen under the description of the preparation of seeds for planting), a kind of *dékat* or oily rice. The sweets made from this variety remain soft for a considerable time, even to the third and fourth " night ", as the Isneg puts it, who counts by nights, not by days.

The tallest and largest variety of rice is called *tǎyútǎy*: its husk 243
is very light-colored.

The *xirxirá-* is the despair of the housewife, as it is exceedingly hard to pound: its husk is variegated and it has no awns.

It sometimes happens that the Isneg plants several varieties of rice or palay [18] in one and the same field; but, if he does so, he is always careful to keep each variety to its own patch of ground and not to plant them indiscriminately all over the field. In this case, each variety is known by the name of *xánan*. Thus, when the Isneg says that he has three *xánan* in his field, he means that his field is divided into three sections, each of them planted with a different variety of palay. It should be noted though that the name *xánan* is applied to the rice that grows there and not to the patch of soil in which it is planted.

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[18] A name which is used extensively all over the Islands and means "rice in the husk or paddy".

243 A certain amount of rice (or Indian corn) that consists in a mixture of kernels of different colors, white (or yellow) and red, is said to be *naburábur*.

243 192 While other fields have either a common name, or a special name that is derived from the plants that are grown in them, a rice field is universally known all over Apayaw by the very specialized term *kómān*. This term is never applied to other plantations, even though they were formerly used for growing rice; as soon as they are planted with some other product, they cease to be *kómān* and become something else. The same happens to fallow rice fields: as soon as they have been abandoned, they automatically change their name. A former *kómān* that has been left unproductive for one year, is called *balnás*. Should it have remained in that state for over one year, it is an *ublág*. In case it has been abandoned for a long time, so that it is already partially covered with young trees, it is known as a *bannuwág*.

In the same way, the sides or edges of a field (whether rice field or not), a garden or an orchard, are known under the general name of *bíkat*, whereas a rice field has the distinction of possessing two sides or *bíkat* that are clearly differentiated by name. The lower part, or rather the edge of the rice field where the man starts his clearing of the ground, is called *atád*; and the opposite or upper edge is the *arpád*; while the common name for both the *atád* and the *arpád* is *nami-tán*. The two other sides, the one to the left and the one to the right when going up from the *atád* to the *arpád*, have to content themselves with the common appellation: *bíkat*.

A *kómān* in which both man and woman have the time of their life to make it productive, is said to be *napgús*, which I am tempted to translate "recalcitrant", or, if you prefer a milder term, "unresponsive". Clearing such a field, weeding it, fencing it, reaping it, every single piece of work that has to be done in it, can be brought to a successful issue only with the utmost difficulty.

312 225 Should it happen that your rice field is situated far away from any kind of source or brook, whether you overlooked this item when making your choice of a patch of ground to be turned into a *kómān*, or because it nevertheless seemed to be the best available for this time, there is an easy way to supply that deficiency: look for a *kumó*, a kind of crab speckled yellow and red, and when you have found it, dig a hole in the ground somewhere at or near your field, and thrust the crab into

with the choice of a patch of ground to be cleared for a future rice field, and ending with the storing up of the harvest in the granary. 000

1. PREPARING A RICE FIELD

The first arduous work that we have to consider is the clearing (*mańumá*) of a patch of ground in order to prepare it for a future rice field, and this is the exclusive work of the men. 243 [462]

The last days of February or, more generally, the month of March, is the time at which the Isneg usually commence this business. But to know the exact time of the year appropriate for this kind of work, the Isneg has a few *taximmatón* or signs of his own.

One of them is the appearance of the *bakákaw* or *limbakákaw*, a kind of low herb that is found almost anywhere and is easily noticed on account of its color, which is red throughout, flowers included. The Isneg call it "the sign of the coming of the year (*magdaxún*)", because the time of the first work that has to be done in the field is considered as the beginning of a new year.

Another sign, usually more conspicuous but less common, is the flowering of the *tabláń* or coral tree (Erythrina sp.), that bears large scarlet papilionaceous flowers. When this tree is in full bloom, however, it is often considered as a *taximmatón* or sign for subsequent work, as will be seen in its proper place.

The *basińalán*-tree also serves to announce the coming of the same season: when the native sees its leaves crumbling, he knows that the time has come for making the first preparation of the ground.

Some time before that, however, the Isneg will have been on the lookout for a favorable spot in which to start his prospective *kómăn*. Formerly, of course, he had to choose a part of the forest, as originally the whole of Apayaw must have been covered with woods. But actually he may select a patch of ground, either in the forest (*xinúbăt*), which he rarely does on account of the difficulty of cutting down the big trees, or in the bushes (*sirăt*), mostly sections of the mountain slopes that have been cultivated in former years. On no account, however, is he allowed to pick out a former rice field that has not been abandoned for at least three consecutive years. And so, because rice is only planted once on the same field, the work of clearing the ground is always a more or less arduous task, which it would be hardly possible for a woman to perform; but, even though she could do it, custom forbids, and this work is the exclusive privilege or duty of her husband and sons. 243 311 [461]

243 Very often two or more Isneg contrive to have plots of ground that are contiguous, so as the better to be able to withstand the inroads of wild animals. "Union makes might": the Belgian motto is true even in Apayaw. Another point not to be overlooked in this connection is that, by working on the same mountain slope, there springs up between the men a kind of rivalry, as each Isneg tries to emulate and to outdo his companion, which results, of course, to the advantage of all concerned. In such cases, however, they always leave a strip of ground uncleared to serve for a natural boundary (*naglatán* or *papandanán*) between two contiguous rice fields.

243
187 When the time has come to begin the all-important *mańumá* (clearing), no conscientious Isneg embarks upon a venture that means so much to himself and to his family, before he has taken all possible precautions. Therefore on the day on which he has decided to tackle this job, he first of all spends a considerable time in observing the flight of the omen-bird (*labág*) or, to say it in Isneg, he *mańlabág*. To do this, he leaves the village and sits down somewhere at a place outside of the group of houses, where he is morally sure of seeing *labág*-birds. Once he has espied one of them, he carefully observes all its movements: should it stay where it is, or at least always remain at the same side without crossing in front of him, the omen is good, and he may safely go ahead. The same is true if the bird flies across from the left side to the right, which is called *púlăd* or *ulád*. Should it pass the other way, that is from right to left, this is a bad omen, which is called *pákam* or *akám* (in Main branch: *páam* or *aám*; in Bayag: *axám*), and the Isneg must wait until the next day before he tries his luck again. A prudent farmer, however, spends a good many hours in observation and does not rest content with the favorable answer of one single bird; he usually tries to have the omen of the first one confirmed by one or more others of the same kind. Should the omen have been bad from the beginning, it would be useless, of course, to wait any longer; the only thing for him to do is to go home and come back the next day.

243 On the day a favorable omen has been granted and not contradicted, the Isneg, armed with his *aliwá* or hatchet, proceeds to his future *kómān*, and does what they call *manatálon* or *talónan*. This consists in cutting down (*magpatpát*, *patpátān*) the bushes (not the trees) grasses, sedges, bamboo grass (*bassáw*, Miscanthus sinensis),[26] etc.

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[26] Called *pattár*, if old and dry without having been cut.

the latter being usually the most plentiful, over a small space called 243
tálon. This *tálon* is generally not much larger than one square yard, and so the first day's work is finished within a comparatively short time.

Besides the observances that are usual for all kinds of work, and 243
which have been mentioned previously, here are a few practices that 789
are peculiar to the *mańumá* (clearing), which it is good for the Isneg
to heed. And so, before beginning to cut anything, he should perform 824
the ceremony called *sapsapó*. This consists in strewing a certain 782
amount of ashes, brought along for this purpose, first to the left, then to the right, and finally behind his back, in order to avoid, if not the approach, at least the bites of mosquitoes for the entire duration of the *mańumá*. Besides, if he is a careful man, he will have provided himself with one or more of the following: *alimbódo, anagláw, talésăy*. The *alimbódo* is a kind of herb that keeps you from any kind of harm, from anything that might hurt you, provided it be placed at the spot where you begin your work. The *anagláw* is a low herb with comparatively long leaves, that grows all over the district, and is put down at the same place as the preceding, for the benefit of the worker and his *kómăn*. The *talésăy* also is a small herb, and serves the same purpose as the *anagláw*, but it is found only in forested areas. At the same time the following prayer may be recited. The text was given me by *Yadán* from Nagbabalayan (O dialect, K branch).

Dinakami paipalagmán kiyá sípăt năyá inammăyán (Do not disobey us at the clearing of the rice field).

Now pronounce the word *óka* or *póka*, and begin attacking the 243
bushes. This word should be pronounced every day before the first [illegible]
stroke of the hatchet, until the whole field is cleared. Its pronunciation will help you to go up the slope in a lively way and to finish the work quickly. Should somebody come along and pronounce the same word, while you are busy cutting the bushes, its pronunciation will have the same effect, making the work easy for you.

The next day, that is the day after the *tálon* has been cleared, the 243
Isneg *xumowáń*, which means that he stays at home and does nothing: 527
he makes it a holiday (*ńílin*). Woe to him if he infringes this taboo. What would befall him, nobody really knows, as it has never happened yet that this holiday was not kept: no Isneg willfully disobeys any of the customs of his people, and this special taboo is known by everybody.

243 The third day, or the next day after the enforced idleness just mentioned, is called *sarsár.* Now the Isneg *manarsár,* which means that he begins work in earnest, starting for his field early in the morning.

The farmer begins clearing his field at the lower edge (*atád*), near the *tálon,* or small patch cleared two days previously, and gradually climbs up the slope, until he reaches the upper edge (*arpád*). Should the field be level, the Isneg call this work *maxónut* instead of *mańumá.* While cutting the grasses, he causes them to fall to the left or to the right, but always backwards, that is toward the *atád* or lower edge, so that they will not interfere with his subsequent work. All large trees are left standing, nothing is torn down but what can be cut either at one stroke of the hatchet (*magtaggád, taggadán*), or at least with little difficulty, so as not to hinder considerably the progress of the work. Usually in this kind of work the Isneg has two hatchets in his possession, the second one or *takám* being used in case the first one becomes dull.

776 The spirit that is to be feared more than any other at this time of the year, is *Pagpaxasápat,* a killer of men at the time of the *mańumá.*

An accident that may easily befall the Isneg at this juncture is the snapping of the helve of his *aliwá* at its junction with the blade, inside the iron ring or *palábo.* In this case the wielder of the hatchet is said to *magpańńúd* and the hatchet itself is *napńudán.* Should such a catastrophe (and it is no exaggeration to call it by that name) occur on the day of the *sarsár,* the farmer is obliged to abandon the whole business and begin all over again, going in search of another field, observing the omen, cutting the *tálon* or first patch, *xumowáń* or resting the next day, and so on. But this is not obligatory if the same accident happens on some other day after the *sarsár,* and not without reason: otherwise he might be obliged to clear fields until doomsday, as the helve of an Isneg hatchet, if used more or less carelessly, is apt to break very easily at this point, the thinned fork of the helve being very brittle at the place where the iron tang is fixed into it. This also may be a practical reason for leaving comparatively large trees intact for the time being.

243
824 When clearing a patch of ground that has been left untouched for several years, the Isneg is liable to come across all kinds of plants. Whereas his principal aim is to make the work progress as quickly and smoothly as possible, and to cut down whatever comes in his way, the

larger trees excepted, nevertheless there are a few objects about which he should be extremely careful. 243 824

First of all we have the *amitál*, a kind of woody vine with elongated leaves, that may be found in almost any brake or bushy plot of ground. In case the Isneg comes upon it while busy clearing his field, he should stop immediately, go home, and stay there all through the next day, making the latter a *ńílin* or holiday. This *amitál* is by far the worst of all, as it retards the progress of the work considerably; others are not so bad.

The *lapát úlag*, for instance, a kind of tree usually growing to a considerable size if left to thrive without interruption, must not be cut down in the *kómān* under any pretext whatsoever, because if the Isneg fails to heed this prohibition, the rats will inevitably destroy the rice that might happen to grow on this field. The *lapát úlag* is easily noticeable by its absence of branches, all leaves growing directly on the trunk, and by its large leaves which measure approximately fifteen by five inches.

Then there is the *lúbo-*, a herbaceous vine that grows in forested areas: not only must it remain untouched, but the place where it grows should be excluded at any price from the *kómān* or rice field, otherwise a member of the owner's family will die before the end of the season. Consequently the *lúbo-* often obliges the farmer to alter completely the shape of his *kómān*, so as to keep the ground on which it grows at the outside of his future rice field. In some districts the same nefarious influence is attributed to a herbaceous vine which the natives call *bitál*, but which is probably the same as the *lúbo-*: the name *bitál* may have been given to it on account of the properties of the *bitál*-knot of vines, which will be described presently.

Another taboo has to do with the *piráy*-instrument which the farmer is absolutely forbidden to carry or play in the field, for the whole time that elapses between the *sarsár* and the end of the harvest. Even a stranger who happens to have a *piráy* on his person, when entering the field, must be warned not to play it; usually, however, he will know about the prohibition without needing a warning. The reason of this taboo is that the sound of the *piráy* attracts the birds and causes them invariably to come and ravage the field before the end of the harvest. This *piráy* (fig. 3) consists of a small piece of bamboo in which two parallel slits have been cut lengthwise, without entirely severing the intervening portion from its adjacent parts; this central part is then lifted up by means of a small stick, that has been slid 243 534 784

534 under it and that produces a slight sound when pinched on either end.
243 It is also absolutely forbidden to pare one's nails in a new-made
784 *kómān.*

A very favorable omen is the meeting of a nest of *amsi-* in the future
243 rice field. The *amsi-* is a stinging medium-sized red-and-black ant,
835 very thin between thorax and abdomen. Such a find forebodes the
787 lusty growth of rice and of all plants that may subsequently be raised in this field.

Another happening that is eagerly looked for is the finding of a jungle fowl's nest. At such an occurrence all work is momentarily stopped and the only concern of the Isneg is to count the number of eggs it contains, each egg presaging the harvest of one hundred bundles of rice.

534

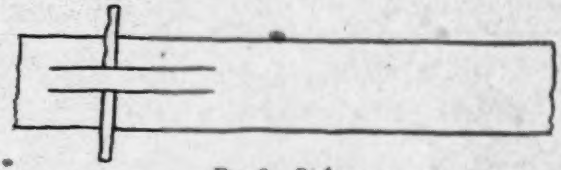

FIG. 3. *Piráy.*

243 When the day's work is over, the Isneg goes home to enjoy a well-
262 deserved rest. Here, however, he should be careful, when partaking of a meal, not to eat the crust of the rice (*assip*), that is, the rice that is next to the pot and has become brown and hardened, because, if he did so, the palay on the field would *umsip*, which means that it would refuse to grow after having sprung up lustily, and would then wither and become yellow and die. This taboo, however, has to be observed only at the beginning of the *mañumá* or clearing of the field.
243 On subsequent journeys to the field for the purpose of continuing
824 the clearing of the ground, it may happen that one sees along the road a *bitâl* (also called *bitúl* and *binituldn*), that is: a cluster of vines or rather a considerable amount of strong vines that have become so intertwined as to form a huge knot. This knot could not have been there before, as it could not have escaped observation, so it is only reasonable to conclude that it has formed after the *mañumá* has been started. In this case the Isneg should retrace his steps and make that day a holiday (*ñilin*). If met in the rice field itself, however, such a knot may remain unheeded, as it has not the slightest influence on the man and his *kómān.*

243 And so, after several days of hard work, perhaps interrupted occasionally by a holiday, in order to follow the rules laid down by his ancestors and the spirits, the Isneg finally reaches the upper end of his field, the *arpád*. Once there, he has to leave untouched a small section of his intended rice field, usually about one square yard, the *nañarpadán*. Later on, after a resting period of from three to five days, he is allowed to go and clear it with the rest (*pammalinán*, " to finish, to end ").

The field is now *inumá*, which means that all the grasses, shrubs, canes of bamboo grass, saplings, etc. have been cut down: the first important work is done. It is for the sun now to do its part by drying up everything as soon as possible, man being a mere looker-on. This does not mean, however, that nothing has to be done before there is an opportunity for burning the *kómān*.

First of all, the farmer makes a survey of the *kómān* that is now in the *inumá*-state, carefully cutting down in the meanwhile anything that might have been overlooked, most especially at the center, the sides being of less importance: this is called *manábal*, a term that is also used for the finishing touch given by a woman to the rice field after it has been weeded.

243 824 After this comes the *tádaw* or the cutting down of all the branches of the trees that have been left standing in the field. The *lapát úlag* mentioned before forms really no exception to this rule, as it has no branches. The *tazimmatón* or sign for this work, which is usually performed some time in March, is the blooming of the *tablán* or coral tree, referred to under the *tazimmatón* of the preceding work, the *mañumá*. Another sign for the beginning of the *tádaw* is the *lumbá-*, a tree whose flowers are much sought after by honeybees: when the *lumbá-* begins to bear fruit, the Isneg knows that it is the *agtatádaw* or time for lopping the trees in his *inumá*.

243 [462] This also, of course, is a man's work; but, because most all Isneg are able to climb any kind of tree, the work is not considered hard, provided there are a couple of good sharp hatchets ready at hand. The *kumilá*-tree, however, is usually left with its branches intact, because the boughs are very brittle and it is rather dangerous to climb the tree and cut them; but nothing prevents the Isneg from cutting it down in its entirety, at the time of the *mañumá*, provided it be not too large. The *kumilá* is very straight and its bark is fragrant; it rarely grows very thick, although it may reach a great height. In Dangla,

243 the cutting of its branches, not the felling of the whole tree, is tabooed in the *kómān*.

243 TK The spirits whom the farmer has to fear at this time of the year, are *Dalipunáw* and his aid *Agpáw*, who are intent on killing people at the time of the *tádaw*.

Should the Isneg know of a tree where the spirit *Pinańgáw* has taken his abode, he must skip it and leave it intact; besides, even though he tried to lop (*magtádaw*) it, he would never be able to do so.

243 Anything that is left untouched, not cut, for any kind of reason, is called *pinuró-*. To leave any kind of plant standing in the *kómān* is *purokán*.

462 Almost immediately following the *tádaw*, we have the *maggańát*, also a man's job. This consists in cutting up the trunks of small trees and the large boughs that are strewn all over the field after the *tádaw*.

And now, at the first opportunity, the Isneg burns his field, *manidúg* or *sumi-dúg*. This of course mostly depends on the weather, because, if the grasses and canes are not thoroughly dry, they will hardly catch fire, and if the wind does not blow from the right direction, it is no use trying to start a blaze. Indeed, the fire is always started at the lower end of the *kómān*, after which helped by the wind it creeps up the mountain slope devouring everything in its wake, and scorching (without destroying) all the neighboring parts of the forest and bushes, including the *naglatán* (or boundary of untouched bushes between two contiguous fields) mentioned before.

It is really an awe-inspiring and never-to-be-forgotten spectacle, when all around, as far as the eye can reach, the mountain slopes are converted into huge bonfires. At every gust of wind and whenever the flames have met some fresh heap of fuel more especially ready for the conflagration, the whole valley is filled with a crepitating and roaring noise intermittently brought to a climax by loud reports of bursting bamboos.

It is useless to say that this work, which again is a man's job, has to be planned and executed with the utmost care, not only to insure the best results, but also to prevent the burning of houses, granaries, orchards, gardens, etc., lest, besides bringing a blessing to the future rice field, it happen to be a curse to the neighbors and to the owner himself, who must repay his countrymen for all the damages wrought through his carelessness. Such a danger, however, is rather remote, as Apayaw is sparsely inhabited and the Isneg is usually an expert in the choice of a well-located field and in everything that pertains to its preparation. In case he were not, he would be wise enough to 243 invoke the help and counsel of other men, who are always willing to offer their services in this respect.

But I believe I am anticipating, and so let us begin with the beginning. The *taximmatón* or sign for the *si-dúg* or burning of the fields is the *lumbá-*, a tree mentioned before, when it is covered with fruits. This generally happens in April or, at the earliest, about the end of March.

Should it happen that one of the trees that were left standing in the *kómān*, is inhabited by *Danág*-spirits, the Isneg, before beginning to burn his field, goes and looks for a *bátań*, a kind of rather large bracket fungus in the shape of an ear, very hard and not edible, that grows on trees. This he hangs somewhere in the tree inhabited by the *Danág* in question, with the inevitable result that the latter get frightened and either decamp or, at least, leave the owner in peace.

Before applying the torch, the Isneg pronounces the word *sílām*, 243
so that all canes and branches be nicely burnt and there remain as 781
little residue as possible. If he fails to pronounce this magic term, he might have to spend several days in gathering and burning the remainder of the rubbish.

Let us now make the acquaintance of a spirit who is a big help to 243
a farmer in possession of a field under clearance. His name is 776
Alipugpúg and he occasionally shows his presence in the *kómān* in the shape of a little whirl of wind or eddy (which is also the meaning of his name), that causes leaves and small twigs to whirl around. If he is seen playing in the rice field at any time after the *si-dúg* or burning, this presages a lusty and robust growth of plants. Never forget though that the day following the appearance of this favorable omen must be kept as a holiday: you must stay at home and stop all work, whether you be man or woman.

In case *Alipugpúg* shows himself immediately after the burning of [751] the field, with the fresh ashes turning in a circle, go immediately to meet him and get some of the whirling ashes, applying them to your forehead, as a prophylactic against the headache. Then, on the next day, observe the customary holiday.

And now the Isneg farmer may contemplate with pride the result of his exertions. The field is almost ready for the women to start their work: nothing remains but a few dry half-burnt sticks scattered all around, a few heaps of partly consumed canes of bamboo grass, and

243 here and there a tree seared and partially blackened, a *lappúg*, a pitiable victim of its most powerful enemy: fire.

A field that is littered out of proportion with rubbish, branches and canes (*xakáb*), is said to be *naxubsí*, and that means a few days of extra work for the Isneg. Should there be one or more *ruúád* (big trees, left standing, but dead and partially burnt or blackened) in the *kómān*, the Isneg must beware of cutting them down, as such huge black masses will serve for scarecrows against wild boars and deer, and keep them at a distance.

The only occasional exception to all this desolation is the tree inhabited by *Pinańgáw*, an outstanding witness to the power of its protector: the fire passed it without leaving any enduring mark.

243 626 As soon as the burning is done, everybody who is interested, goes and takes a look at the place, which can now be done without hindrance, as everything is open to view. In case the wife of the Isneg who prepared this *kómán* makes some statement intimating that their *kómān* is small, the husband *mańanasá*, that is, he cuts down either a small or a considerable part of the withered grasses and sedges at the edge of the burnt field, so as to satisfy both his wife and custom, the latter obliging him to act that way under the circumstances; and this he may not do remissly, because, if the *ańanasá* is performed carelessly, nothing will grow at that place, which after all is easily understood.

243 The morning after the burning of the field, a few seeds are confided to the ground. This is called *magpaďyab*, and the ceremony consists in scattering from six to ten seeds somewhere in the *kómān*. It may be performed by either men or women, but it must be accompanied by an appropriate prayer. In some districts, for instance at Bayag, this ceremony is performed the day before the first planting: this will be mentioned at its proper place, and there also will be given the prayer that accompanies the *agpaďyab*.

The only thing left to be done is the cleaning of the field after burning; this is called *manudú-*, and generally husband and wife, sons and daughters, in fact the whole household, help one another to bring it to a successful issue. The larger boughs and branches that have withstood the conflagration, are mostly piled up in stacks, to be used for fuel: this is called *maxarábon*. The other rubbish, canes of bamboo grass being usually the most abundant, is gathered into heaps and then burnt: this is what the Isneg call *maxopó*, a term applied to the burning of a heap of any kind of rubbish, whether in the field or in the house yard. 243

2. PLANTING RICE AND OTHER ACTIVITIES IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING

The Isneg plant their rice in the months of May and June. But before that they have to prepare the seeds (*maxaggí-*), which is usually done at home by the women, and is a quite elaborate process, as will be seen anon. 242

The seeds (*aggí-*: a general name for seeds of rice, Indian corn, beans, peas, and the like) are simply the rice kernels shelled off from the ears. A mat (*abá-*), mostly an old one, is spread over the floor for the purpose; a few bundles of rice, the number varying with the amount of rice seeds that are needed, are brought into it from the granary; and these are shelled by treading on them and pressing them under the feet, until all the kernels are separated from the straw (*agkuláw*). The mat in question is called the *agaggikán*.

To make the matter more complicated, a number of things have to be observed, on which depends the success of the whole business. Now let us see in detail what has to be done lest the crop prove a failure.

After a small amount of seeds has been made ready, these are placed in a basket (*la-bá*), and all further progress of the work is stopped until they have been blessed. The woman who shells this first rice and performs the blessing ceremony, is ordinarily of mature age, although not necessarily a shaman, and is called *mańodál*. The seeds having been gathered in the *la-bá*, this woman *maglubí*, which means that she mixes with them a whole assortment of objects, while reciting at the same time an appropriate prayer, for instance, one of those given above and addressed to *Pilăy*. The following are the ingredients that are absolutely necessary: 243 782

Inapúxān, described before;
A piece of *landíg* or husk of a ripe betel nut;
One or more of the following:

Ańlubí: A small herb with elongated brown flowers, that grows in the forest. In Bayag they use the *lubí*, a small herb with diminutive red flowers, that grows almost anywhere;

A section of *banatá* cut into pieces. The *banatá* is a tall herb, about two feet high, with large round leaves and fruits resembling those of the betel pepper; it grows all over the district;

243 A part of the fruit and leaf of the lemon;

782 A few seeds of *lańíd* or sesame: these seeds have a peculiar [822] aptitude for " teaching " the rice how to grow vigorously;

A seed of *oldiyátan*, in order to guard the spirit of the rice, lest it leave the rice and the ears become empty. The *oldiyátan* is a forest tree with a thorny stem and round seeds that are used for toys;

A piece of zedoary or rhizome of *kannig* (Curcuma zedoaria [Berg.] Rosc.), which grows wild;

[303] A piece of galangale or rhizome of *disól* (Kaempferia galanga, L.), cut into small pieces. This plant is often cultivated, as old women use it for perfume;

Some pudding made from *madiliya*-rice, mentioned before.

All these are amulets (*tónib*) that insure the nice growth of the palay.

243 The seeds of this *la-bá* are now kept apart, and they will be planted in the field before any other ones.

Then the work of shelling goes on and, whenever there is a sufficient amount of *aggi-*, it is transferred to a bamboo tube, called *agaggikán* like the old mat itself. The term *agaggikán* consists of the stem *aggí-* and the locative combination *ag . . . ān*: when referring to the mat, it means " the place where the woman *maxaggí-* or shells rice "; when applied to the bamboo tube, it means " the place of the *aggí-*". In some localities, instead of using a bamboo tube, the Isneg wrap the seeds in the leaves of the *asipúlo* or *sipúlo*: a forest tree with very large round leaves; its bark is sometimes used for chewing with the betel nut.

When the time of planting (*tognó*) draws near, the Isneg puts the finishing touch to the cleaning of his *kómān*. Some of the plants that had been cut during the *ańumó* or clearing, have sprung up again (*rumsí-*), after the field was burnt. And so the man takes his hatchet and the woman her *paló-* (hoe), which will be described presently, and proceed to the field in order to clean everything thoroughly before the planting is begun: this final preparation is called *magpatari-sí-* (*tari-sí-* means: young shoot of plants in general).

[462] For the planting or *tognó* (a term used for rice and Indian corn, not for beans, etc.), which is the exclusive work of the women, the latter need a special implement, namely a dibble.

412 Here I shall give the description of the aforementioned *paló-* (hoe) and of the two kinds of dibble used for planting rice, the *saguwá-* and the *xódań*.

412 portion. The blade consists in a thin piece of iron, about two inches broad over its whole length, sharp at one end, and provided at the opposite end with a hollow socket that encloses the end of the handle. The handle is made of any kind of wood. The *saguwá-* is used for planting (*magtognó, tognowán*) rice and Indian corn.

The *xádań* is another kind of dibble which consists merely of a straight stick of hard wood, about one yard long and pointed at one end. It is used, like the *saguwá-*, for planting rice and Indian corn.

243 415 When the Isneg woman goes planting, she also takes along a receptacle for seeds, called *tupáń*, which is just an ordinary *dúyog* or coconut shell. She ties it somewhere at her waist in such a way as to be easily reached with the left hand. The *tupáń* is used for holding seeds of rice or Indian corn.

The *taximmatón* or sign for the *agtotognó* (time of planting) is the appearance of the *biyóń* or pods of the *tabláń* or coral tree, which has been mentioned formerly under the same circumstances. As soon as the coral tree is covered with fruits the Isneg woman understands that it is time for her to confide the *aggi-* (seeds) of rice to the soil.

Planting is done like this: the woman holds the dibble (*saguwá-* or *xádań*) in her right hand and bores a hole (*magtuná-*) in the ground; at the same time she gets a few seeds (usually three) from the *tupáń*-cup and drops them into the hole, with her left hand; then she covers the hole and fills it up with her right foot. The whole work is done standing, and if any kind of stooping is necessary, it is very slight, so that an experienced planter can finish a large plot in a comparatively short time. The holes are usually bored in such a way as to form more or less parallel rows (*tarintén*), which are rarely straight: the only aim of the woman is to render subsequent work in the field easy for herself and safe for the plants. The distance between the plants is mostly about one foot (*tańadapán*): if the planter is still a novice, she measures the distance with one of her feet, while experienced planters scorn to do so.

243 782 As soon as the *agtotognó* or time of planting has come, the Isneg merely waits for a favorable opportunity to begin the work. In some places, at Bayag for instance, the man or the woman goes to the field on the day that precedes the *alápat* (which will be described presently) in order to perform the *agpadyab*, which has been mentioned before in connection with the *si-dúg* (burning). Once there, a few grains of rice are thrown into the field, and one of the following prayers is recited:

Ne ma- úlag ta umad-adăyyóa[27] (Here then, rat, so that you be going away).

Ne ma- ómăn ta magla-la-nás-a (Here then, rice field, so that you be [planted] quickly).

These texts were given me by *Pokól*, a Bayag man (O dialect), who claimed that the second prayer was regularly used by his father.

Both these prayers may also be used by those who *magpadyab* immediately after the burning of the field.

On the first day of the regular planting (at Bayag, the day after the *agpadyab*), the woman *maxalópat* (*magalompapát* at Bayag): some time in the afternoon, she goes to the field and plants about one square yard (in some places only two or three *tognó* or holes); after which she goes home and does no more work that day. But before she starts on that business, she has to offer *inapúxăn* (betel for chewing) to a few spirits that are either favorable or bent on mischief more especially at the *agtotognó*: while doing so she recites a prayer appropriate to the occasion.[28] The spirit that always heads the list is *Róyo*. After him are invoked or propitiated one or more of the following: *Ikkúl, Tukká, Xusíñ, Do-ráw*. The last is begged not to follow the planter, lest no palay be harvested that year.

Next to the first hole she bores in the ground, a zealous Isneg woman places one or both of the following amulets:

One or more leaves of the *taxalítaw* vine (Hoya sp., or very near), a very sturdy asclepiadaceous plant with thick leaves often used for decorating purposes. Its leaves being placed next to the first plant cause the leaves of the palay to be green and full of life;

A part of the *sapităn*-herb, a cultivated plant about two feet high, with leaves resembling those of cogon-grass.

The following prayer may be recited when the first seeds, whether of rice or, more especially, of Indian corn, are confided to the soil. My informant, *Dagámi*, a Bayag woman (O dialect), entitled it:

Maktuná- (To start planting [corn, rice])

Imúlaka ta maktubotúboa magbúñaa magbăybăyágka; daăyó maggiyán kiyá al-alawagán ta ăwánnu pagan-anítăn ya múlao; umadăyyóăyo[29] *a maggiyán kiya adanní năyá múlami; dídaxami pagda-*

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[27] The initial *u* is scarcely audible.

[28] These prayers may be found scattered all over this treatise: any prayer that accompanies the offering of *inapúxăn* will do, only the name of the spirit has to be changed in order to fit in.

[29] Cf. footnote 27 supra.

243 782 *gaiián daiyó maggiyán ki sirát* (I plant you so that you shoot up, you bear fruit, you be lasting long; you who reside on the earth, so that you have no reason to destroy [26] my plants; go away, you who reside near our plants; do not give us a fever, you who reside in the bushes).

243 784 In the evening of the day of the *agalópal*,[1] the woman, owner of the field, *magsima*, which means that she is not allowed to give away anything from the house, not even a leaf of tobacco, and that she may not permit anybody to enter the house. The next morning, however, these prohibitions cease, but at the same time this day has to be kept as a holiday (*ńilin*). The real work of planting begins only on the third day, after which planting is done unremittingly until the end.

If the planter is accompanied by children, these should be warned not to shout in or about the field on account of the spirit *Paxanánăy*, who has taken his abode at the outskirts of the *kóman* ever since the burning of the field, and who stays there until the *tognó* is finished.

243 462 776 While planting is going on or, at the latest, immediately after it is finished, the Isneg cut out again the young shoots of bamboo grass that have sprung up in the meanwhile: this plant has a very tough resistance and is subdued by the farmer only after many exertions. To cut out isolated shoots of *bassáw* or bamboo grass, is *magsilsíl*; if they grow in clusters, to cut them out is *magtappíl*, and this is much more thorough than *magsilsil*, as the roots are taken out as well as the rest. Both men and women perform this job, the first using their *aliwá* or hatchet, the latter their *paló*- or hoe.

At the time of planting one must especially beware of an evil spirit called *Bibiritān*, who roams around to kill people during the *agtotognó*. About the same time also reigns *Bakákaw* (which is also the name of a bird mentioned before), a spirit who is always carrying a heavy load of *agkukáw* or rice straw (from which rice has been shelled).

Later on, when the paddy has been sprouting all over the field, the woman goes to see if there are any voids in the rows, and if she sees that shoots are lacking here and there, she goes home and prepares for a communication with the spirits (*maxanito*). If she is a shaman, she does it by herself; if not, she calls a *dorarákit* (shaman) for the purpose. After this she goes to the field and fills up the gaps: this is called *magtagnáp*.

243 In the meanwhile the men also are busy, and between the *si-dúg*

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[26] Literally: to cut off, to rub off.

1[i.e., first planting -- Analyst]

(burning) and the *tagnáp* just mentioned, they attend to several important duties.

First of all, the trees that grow around the *kómān* have to be eliminated, as the rice would hardly be able to thrive in their shadow. And so the Isneg takes his hatchet and cuts them down (*magdalnég* or *magpallád*), so that they die and do not interfere with the growth of the crop.

Then a fence has to be built around the *kómān*, and the *síxäy*-hut has to be constructed inside. The latter work is rarely protracted beyond planting time, while fencing can be dispensed with whenever there is a natural barrier that renders it superfluous, for instance a very steep decline. Sometimes the *kǫmān*, and occasionally other fields, are left entirely unprotected; this, however, is rather exceptional: even though no regular fence be built, there is usually at least some temporary barrier, any of those that will be mentioned presently.

Whereas there are several ways of hedging a rice field, and besides a fence has also to be built around gardens and fields where other plants are grown, I shall give here, once for all, the description of the different kinds of fences built by the Isneg, whether around garden or rice field, whether to protect sweet potatoes or Indian corn.

The first way to safeguard a field or garden from wild boars, deer, etc., is to heap up (*magbambán, bambannán*) canes of bamboo grass, banana stems, etc. (*bambán*) all along its sides. This, of course, is only a temporary barrier that has to be replaced later on by something more durable.

Then we have the *balakkuwít* (fig. 5), which hardly deserves the name of fence. It consists of strips of bamboo (*nasi-lát a bólo*) stuck archwise all around the field, sometimes in such a way as to produce a guilloche effect. The *balakkuwít* rather serves for a scarecrow, as the whiteness of the fresh strips of bamboo frightens wild animals away. It goes without saying that this is only a temporary device, as very soon the color of the bamboo turns brown and consequently loses all its effect.

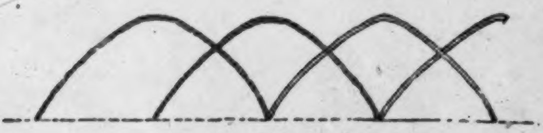

FIG. 5. *Ballakuwít.*

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Let us come now to the regular fence, the *abút*, and see how it is made.

To build (*maxabút*) an ordinary fence you need a large amount of canes of bamboo grass (*bassáw*) for the uprights, which form the bulk of the fence, and a few more for the transverse pieces (*pakán*), a certain amount of sturdy sticks for props or supporters (*túkid*), a good quantity of vines or other materials for tying purposes, a large wooden hammer (*bakéta*) for driving in the supporters, and, last but not least, a hatchet or *aliwá*.

Those are the usual materials and implements used in making an *abút*. Sometimes wooden sticks are used instead of canes, with strips of bamboo (occasionally) for the transverse pieces. Sometimes bamboo tops with their branches intact are simply stuck in the ground for a fence, called *saraúsáń*. Sometimes a fence is built by means of entire bamboo stems or bamboo stems cut lengthwise into two or more parts, and kept in place horizontally one above the other between an occasional combination of two upright wooden sticks, to which they are tied in such a way as to leave only a narrow space between each of the component parts (as is customary with fences built around the house yard and described in another paper[31]). But all this is rather extraordinary and may be dismissed without further explanations.

With reference to the supporters (*túkid*), any kind of wood may be used, provided it be hard and durable. The stems of the *baggút*, however, which is only a small tree, are very appropriate to the purpose.

Any kind of tough vines, strips of rattan, etc., may be used for tying. Among others, strips cut from the white bark (*labdó*) of the *bo-nóń*-tree are very much esteemed.

The *bakéta* consists in a heavy block of wood, into which has been inserted a comparatively long straight handle. It is a very handy implement for driving in the *túkid* or supporters.

This is the way to proceed in order to make a good *abút* (fence). After having gathered some bundles of canes of bamboo grass, whether or not sufficient for the whole fence, and a certain amount of vines or strips for tying, bring them to the place where the fence has to be built. Once there, stick the canes in the ground, upright and close together. If necessary, sharpen them at the lower end; if the ground is very hard, it is preferable first to dig a little groove, which afterwards is filled up by pressing the earth with the feet on both sides of the fence. Go on like that until there is a row at least as long as one of the tallest canes. Then tie one or two canes horizontally on either 243 side, a little higher than the center of the uprights, or even nearer to 417 the top: these canes form the *pakân*. When this is done, go back home and keep the next day as a holiday (*ńílin*). This first day's work is called *mańgapó*.

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[31] Cf. Publ. Cath. Anthrop. Conf., v. 3, no. 1, p. 62.

All during the next day, the holiday, it is absolutely forbidden to approach the place where the fence is. Should anybody dare infringe this taboo, he is said to *mananút* (destroy the value of ?) the fence, and he will suffer the wrath of the owner, if nothing worse befalls him. This same term *mananút* is also used for people who approach a rice field where the first weeding (*ballât*) has been done, as will be seen in due time.

On the third day, continue the work and go on until it is completed, without fear of any bad effects on account of somebody coming to talk to you or to lend a helping hand.

When the whole fence has been built according to this plan, or at least when a considerable section has been completed, plant the *túkid* or wooden supporters, which have been gathered either before or in the meanwhile. The first thing to be done is to sharpen them at one end (*magsíxād, sixâdān*), after which they are driven forcibly into the ground (*magtaïná-*). A few subsequent strokes with the *bakêta* will keep them strongly in position. These *túkid* are placed near the fence of canes, at regular intervals, mostly only on one side, sometimes on both, and they are tied strongly to the parts of the fence nearest to them, usually at the intersections of uprights and transverse canes or *pakân*.

If, in the course of time, some part of the fence is destroyed by wild boars, the only thing to be done is simply to repair it (*magrassó*).

The Isneg also make great use of the *túxa*, short sharp sections of 243 a cane of bamboo grass, stuck in the ground in a slanting position; these weapons of defense are very dangerous to anybody, whether man or animal, who trespasses on the ground wherein they are to be found. If they are stuck in the soil immediately behind the fence, inside the field, they are called *palăyáw*, and woe to the wild boar that jumps through a fence and lands on them. The *palăyáw* are used with the best effect in places where the Isneg knows, through former experience, that the wild boar is wont to make himself a passage into the field or garden.

The space all around the fence, at the outside, is called *alasiyâń*; it is generally cleaned (*maxalasiyâń*) to the breadth of about one

243 yard, and this work is mostly done before building the fence. This *alasiyấń* serves several very useful purposes: it allows the builder of the fence a clear space for his work and the occasional passerby an easy passage; it prevents the vines from overgrowing the fence and ultimately bringing about its downfall, not exactly on account of their weight, but by causing it to rot through an excess of moisture; and finally it serves for a scarecrow to wild animals, because, when they emerge from the bushes, this clear path barred by a fence of canes always looks suspicious to them.

243
343 And now as to the *síxǎy*-hut, without which no rice field is complete. The *síxǎy* is a hut, either big or small, raised on posts, but not as high above the ground as an ordinary house, and made of light materials, as bamboo, canes of bamboo grass, rattan, cogon-grass, leaves, stems of young bamboo grass, palm leaves, etc. The posts are often nothing but stems of the *lańpá*-palm (Livistona rotundifolia, Mart.). The only distinctive features of the *síxǎy* are: that it is built in a rice field and that it is square in shape (*magbakál*). If length and breadth were not equal, the Isneg believe that everything would go wrong with the crop.

Here the farmer and his family find shelter from sun and rain. Here they often take their midday meal for weeks at a time, even sometimes for a whole month or more, according to the work that has to be done. Here on certain occasions, for instance when guarding the ripening crop or when lying in wait for wild boars and so on, they pass the night (*magtáw*).[32] Later on the *síxǎy* will be the starting point of the reapers. Here palay will first be stored up, etc. I shall mention this hut again when I describe the harvest. Here I shall only remind you of a few observances that have to be attended to when occupying a *síxǎy*.

243
782 Whenever you move to a new *síxǎy*-hut, the first time you go to occupy it, you must offer *inapúxān* (betel for chewing) and *aludákid* to the *Kapénān*-spirits. The *aludákid* consists of a narrow strip (about half an inch) of coconut meat, cut out around the edge of a nut that has been divided into halves, and retaining its full thickness.

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[32] This term *magtáw*, which usually means "to pass the night in the *síxǎy*", also means "to die (under certain circumstances)": if it happens that, leaving your house in the village where you are actually living and going to your field in order to look it over, you hear the chatter of monkeys on your way, that is a sure sign that one of your housemates will die (*magtáw*). Does it mean that his spirit left home to wander about in his field and take his rest in the *síxǎy* (*magtáw*)? Perhaps.

Both these offerings must be hung on top of a long pole stuck in the ground somewhere near the *síxăy*. The *Kapónān*-spirits reign over flowering bamboo grass, which they use for paddy, without ever consuming it: they are much to be dreaded, as they deeply resent the destruction of their property and revenge themselves by causing the culprits to become sick. Now, as almost anybody occasionally cuts down one of these canes in flower, the only way to avoid their wrath is to do as has been told whenever you move into a new *síxăy*-hut. 243 782

When you enter your *síxăy* for the first time, especially if you have children with you, hang a small piece of *binaladdibád*-pudding somewhere above the door, as an offering to the tutelary spirits of the hut. Besides, whenever you go to your *síxăy* accompanied by one or more children, take along a little pudding and strew it along the road, lest the little ones become *masi-mát* (sickness caused by spirits); but if you have no youngsters with you, it is not necessary to do this. In case there is no pudding at hand, leave your children at home.

The spirit who takes all huts under his protection, whether they be *síxăy* or *báwi*,[23] is called *Baláwi*: he resides in the mountains, and must be propitiated by the offering of *inapúxān*, lest the owner of the hut become sick.

An appropriate prayer to go with the offering that is made on the occasion of a new *síxăy* or *báwi*, is the following: it is one of those called *pisi-* (offering), and the text was given me by *Uwil* from Bolo (O dialect, Main branch).

Nénu anito ta umad-adăyyókăyo kiyá paxag-agiyanánmi (Here is for you, spirits, so that you go away from our dwelling).

Whenever the husband brings home *níxăy*[24] for his family to eat, if the meal takes place in the *síxăy* (not in the house), a small part of each *níxăy* must be thrown away as an offering to the spirits, lest any member of the household present at the time be *mabalsíkān* (sickness caused by spirits).

The presence of an *arípit*-bird near the *síxăy* is usually disastrous to the owners of the *kómān*. Indeed, should its cry happen to be heard at that place, while work is being done in the field, whether planting or anything else, the crop will certainly be spoiled; if heard at planting time, nothing will spring up; if later, no rice will be harvested. 243 787

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[23] Temporary huts built on the ground, not raised on posts, in any place except the rice field.

[24] Living beings caught for food, as fishes, birds, deer, etc., not insects.

243 Once the rice field has been abandoned, after the rice has been stored in the granary, the *sixăy* also is completely neglected. It is not wilfully destroyed, but it is simply allowed to fall into ruin by decay. The place where such a hut was standing in former times is called *nagsixáyăn*.

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789 Before going over to the next work of importance, the *ballát* or weeding, I shall set down a few rules for the preservation of the field, so that the paddy may thrive, foes may be kept at bay, etc. Some of these rules are of general import for the well-being of the *kómăn*, whatever the stage of growth of the rice; others are especially intended for a field that has not yet been weeded. Rules that have to do more directly with a rice field that has passed the *ballát* (weeding) stage will be treated in their proper place.

All Isneg farmers should have an intimate knowledge of the different kinds of amulets that may be placed in a rice field in order to keep it in fine shape, because, without them, their own practical exertions will rarely be sufficient. These amulets are:

Leaves of the *anańá kapónăn* (literally: raincoat of the *Kapónăn* spirits), a kind of rattan, useless for tying purposes: its leaves are whitish at the lower side, and it grows in forests. One of these leaves, when placed in the *kómăn,* strengthens the young palay and causes it to grow up into robust stalks.

The *taxa-líg,* a low herb, growing almost anywhere.

The *ańgipxípi,* a herb some two feet tall, growing in forested areas.

The *surní-,* another small herb, found all over the district. It also serves for an amulet in the granary.

The *unát aníto* (literally: sugar cane of the spirits), a kind of grass resembling sugar cane, but with a very hard stem yielding no sugar. It may be met with in abandoned gardens, and should be planted (living) in the rice field, all around the *sixăy*-hut.

Except the *unát aníto,* none of these amulets is planted in the rice field; they are simply placed somewhere in the *kómăn* and left there to die and to decay. The same rule applies to the amulets that will be enumerated in the following pages, apart from exceptions that will be especially noted.

Other amulets have a medicinal value:

If your palay is dying and threatened with destruction, use the *dalapnát,* a low herb with very small round leaves, growing almost anywhere.

If the young palay becomes yellowish and dies all over the field, stick *taxańlappúg* (or *taxanappúg*) in the ground. This is the name of the leaves of the *ditán*, a kind of fragrant rattan.

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If your rice plants are not looking strong and start withering all around, have recourse to the *sárut*, a herb some six inches tall, that grows in the forest.

Palay whose leaves are becoming dry may be cured by placing a piece of the bark of the *maradanipgá*-tree in the field. This tree, which has very large leaves, may be met with almost anywhere.

Whenever the growth of your rice is bad and is not what it should be, you have the choice between the *anappúl*, a sturdy herb growing in forested areas, and the *balluwát*, a herbaceous vine with a very thorny stem and small leaves, which is found in almost any place. The *balluwát* may be used in two ways: it is either planted (whether it remains alive or dies afterwards has no bearing on its curative value) or crushed and scattered in the *kóman*.

If up till now you have always been blessed with an abundant harvest and you foresee that in the present instance the outcome will be very different, get some *talóbas* from the forest and place it in your rice field, in order to bring back your customary good luck. The *talóbas* is a herb, some eight inches tall, with rather small leaves.

Now let us see what can be done to prevent or to counteract the depredations of animals.

When your palay has been attacked by worms or insects, get some *ańlattóń*, a herb some eight inches tall, bearing white flowers and thriving in taro fields, mix it with *bási*, an alcoholic beverage obtained from the juice of the sugar cane, and sprinkle this mixture over your field. Worms will die and insects will be driven away.

Should insects have started destroying your rice, use the *láxib* amulet; this is a low herb with small elongated leaves that can be found almost anywhere.

Wild boars are driven away by either of these two: the *palég*, a low herb with small leaves, very fragrant, growing on trees, or the *pádin*, a herb some six inches tall, found almost anywhere, and bearing sweet-scented flowers.

Should a deer have come repeatedly to browse in your paddy, call a shaman and ask her to come to the rescue. She will fetch some *rixad* herbs, place them in a very small *báńa*-jar, and twist three strips of cloth, one red, one black, and one white, around the neck of the jar.

243 789 Then accompany her when she goes to place it in your field: the next time that deer comes again, it will die inside your *kómān*.

The *sakórāñ* is a section of a bamboo stem that has been split at the top into many narrow stripe, which in turn have been spread open so as to take the shape of a funnel. A *sakórāñ* is very often stuck upright in the center of a rice field in order to frighten away wild boars and deer. It is even more effective if you furnish it with an herb, some twelve inches tall, also called *sakórāñ*, and growing in forested areas.

731 789 The worst enemy of your field, however, is the locust (*dódon*; young locust: *annón*), and this subject needs a more extensive treatment.

243 Swarms of locusts have infested the district, every four or five years, ever since the occupation of Apayaw in 1913, and whenever they pass at the time of the year when rice fields are clothed in green, which is usually the time when they do, it means famine for the country. These pests clip the paddy (*ratudán*) as nicely as a lawn mower, so that nothing remains but the *ratúd* (what remains after the grass has been cut close to the ground), and the field is *naratudán*. What has been left untouched is called the *ínāb* of the locust.

Everybody knows that prevention is better than cure, and so, in order to save your field from the alighting of the locusts, whose presence has been ascertained in the district, make immediate use of one or both of the following amulets: the *anódon*, a creeping herb found in almost any place, which, when placed in the *kómān*, prevents it from alluring the locusts; leafy branches of the *alsít*, a hesperidious shrub bearing small bitter fruits, not larger than a fingerlet, and growing in forests: when stuck in the soil of your field, they keep the locusts at a distance.

In case they are already very near, you may have recourse to either or both of the following expedients:

Place some *tagága* (Bayag pronunciation) in your field to prevent them from alighting. The *tagága* is an asclepiadaceous vine, clinging to trees, and much used for decorating purposes: its opposite leaves growing close together on both sides of the stem give it the appearance of a thick ribbon, deeply indented all along its edges.

Go and put *takkír álig*[35] in the place where the locusts are for the moment, so that they fly away out of your own neighborhood. The *takkír álig* is a low herb that grows in forests.

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[35] Literally: with which the *álig* drives away its companions. The *álig*-bee is supposed to keep ants at a distance.

Should they come along anyhow, either through negligence on your 243
part, or because you have been taken unawares, as soon as they start 731
alighting in your field, take a *balandán*-blanket,[38] thrust one of its 789
corners in the end of a long pole, which you have split for the purpose, and erect this improvised flag somewhere in your *kómān*. The higher the pole the easier it will be to frighten the locusts away. If there is no pole at hand, tie the blanket to the top of one of the trees that have been left standing, provided it be a tall one. This stratagem is called *magdattág*.

Once the locusts have taken possession of your rice field, the only way to drive them off is to throw *aksumég* (Bayag pronunciation) among them: this is a low herb with small hairy leaves that grows all over the district.

Here in Apayaw the Isneg do not live close enough together to be able to imitate the inhabitants of other parts of the Mountain Province, where large groups of people, equipped with small nets, go to attack the enemy. But, after all, these expeditions are rarely very effective, and usually the only result, perhaps the most important in the eyes of the improvident natives, is the catching of a large amount of viands without any cost and with comparatively little trouble. The Isneg also considers a locust as a dainty and may for a few days look with dry eyes on the disaster that has been wrought in his beloved *kómān*, only to expiate later on by a prolonged fast the few happy hours of satiated gourmandizing

But let us revert to our rice fields, and see how the Isneg tackles the 243
problem of defending them against the jealousy of his neighbors, who 754
either use natural means to destroy the paddy, which they rarely dare to attempt, or resort to occult powers to play havoc in a *kómān*, which is of much more frequent occurrence.

If you mix the barks of the *pannó*, a forest tree, and of the *karrán*, a leafless plant, some twelve inches tall, growing in forests (the name means "scaring away"), and place this mixture in your field, the person who ventures to harm your crops, will die instantly and without any previous illness, as soon as he gets home.

If, instead of the barks, you use *annoná*, a low herb growing in forests, the villain will be killed in an accident.

Now it may happen that you think about it only after some harm has been done already. In such a case insert a *binusírān*, a kind of

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[38] Indigo, ornamented with purple thread at the seams.

243 *mandíñ* bead,[37] in the soil of your *kómān*, and very soon the culprit's 754 eyes will become swollen, so that he cannot hide his guilt any longer.

If you happen to know that your enemy is the owner of the field 243 next to yours, the best way to take your revenge is to place *da-líg-* 789 herbs in the patch of uncleared ground that separates both your fields: after that his crops will be tampered with instead of yours.

These are the plants which are the most frequently placed in a neighbor's *kómān* with the purpose of injuring the rice crop:

The *aŋdadál*, a climbing plant, that grows in thickets of bamboo grass, and bears white flowers resembling those of the *pulút* (a middle-sized forest tree) and brown fruits: it renders a rice field absolutely valueless. The name itself is indicative of the effect it produces: "destroying".

The *taxa-siyát*, a creeping herb, found on level ground: placed in a neighbor's field without his knowledge, it allures noxious animals to come and ravage the crop.

The *anappudappúg*, a low herb, found in abandoned gardens: it causes the rice to *magdappúg*, "stop growing and die".

The *dalañiđãñ*, a low herb with yellowish leaves, growing almost anywhere: it causes the young paddy to grow yellow and wither.

The *assáp* or *kassáp*, another low herb with the same habitat as the preceding: it causes the death of the palay in the whole field.

Here is a rather innocent means to get the better of one's competitors: the *battoál*, a little herb that grows in forested areas and bears white flowers, when placed in a *kómān*, causes the latter to yield a better harvest than a contiguous field. This amulet is obviously of no value to isolated *kómān*.

3. WEEDING AND SUBSEQUENT CARE OF THE RICE FIELD

243 In the months of July and August we have the *agbablát*, which means "the time of the *ballát*, the time of weeding". At this time of the year the young palay is cleaned thoroughly, lest it be choked by useless weeds (*kaddát*). Plants that start sprouting only after the *ballát* has been finished will never be able to catch up with the growth of the paddy, and so will do it no harm.

With the *umá* (clearing), followed by the *si-dúg* (burning), and the *toŋó* (planting), this is the most important work that precedes the crowning of all efforts, the *xáni* (reaping). Like the *tognó*, the *ballát* 243 is performed exclusively by women. The particular implement used for the purpose is the *paló-* or hoe, although the *ikó*-knife, which never leaves a woman's headband, may be resorted to occasionally.

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[37] The *mandíñ*, which is a very precious kind of bead, at least in the eyes of the Isneg, has the shape of a small cylinder consisting of two almost equal parts, one of them more or less blackish, and the other of a much lighter color.

Magballát means " to weed the field ": this is a general term that is also applied to a man who cuts out weeds with his *aliwá* (hatchet). When referring to a more thorough cutting out of weeds, the Isneg use the term *magkirkér*, " to grub up weeds roots included ".

There is no special *taximmatén* or sign for this kind of work. The size of the paddy is the only criterion, and everybody must use his own judgment, lest beginning the *ballát* too early, fresh weeds are allowed enough time to grow strong and harm the crop, or lest postponing it too long, some of the paddy has either been exhausted beyond recovery or has become too old and consequently unable to lift up its head after having been trampled upon by the weeders.

After it has been decided to start the weeding, the woman proceeds to the field, usually in the afternoon. Before reaching her *kómān*, she closes the road with a *waláwal*, lest somebody come and unknowingly trespass (*mananát*) on forbidden ground. The *waláwal* consists in a couple of sticks that are placed in the form of a St. Andrew's cross somewhere across the path that leads to the field. Once there, she puts down the amulet called *tapuyá-*, a very low herb that grows in forested areas, and weeds a small patch. After that she comes home and stops there the next day. In the meanwhile nobody is allowed to wander about that particular rice field.

On the third day the *waláwal* is removed and the weeding begins for good. From now on it will be continued until the whole *kómān* is thoroughly cleaned.

The weeds that have been removed are thrown over the fence, at regular intervals, by means of a stick (*magtuwál*), except where it is easier to dispose of them in some other way, for instance by throwing them into a nearby precipice.

Among the insects that are come across in the field at the time of 225 the *ballát*[1] the following are noteworthy:

The *kibbótot*, a leaping insect, much smaller than the locust: its color is brown except the wings, that are black. It makes a person who eats it sick with the colic, and chickens who feed on it get a swollen belly.

[1] [i.e., weeding -- Analyst]

825 The *păyakán*, a kind of winged ant, that builds its nest preferably in clusters of young bamboo grass. This insect is edible, and even considered as a dainty by the majority of the Isneg.

The *ag-agammáy*, a kind of mantis, mentioned before. If you get hold of it at the time of the *ballát*, take its neck between your fingers, turn it with the legs upwards, and say: "*Pizá ya ammáy-o* (How much palay will I have?)." If it moves one leg, it means *mǫ́po* (one hundred *isiń*-bundles); if two legs, *duwá ńópo* (two hundred bundles); if it moves all its legs, it means *annám ńópo* (six hundred bundles). One hundred *ńópo* is *matúńal* (ten thousand bundles).

776 At this time of the year one should beware of the spirit *Dalánap*, who kills people during the *agbablát* (weeding time).

243 As soon as the weeding is over, place some *ibasán* in your field, so 789 that the paddy grow up into sturdy and robust stalks. The *ibasán* is a kind of grass that resembles the sugar cane, but yields no sugar, and grows in abundance all over the district.

After that make a minute inspection of the whole field, and cut down all weeds that may have been overlooked. This second cleaning is called *manábal*, a term also used to mean "putting the finishing touch to the *umá* (clearing the ground)", as has been mentioned before.

The *agbablát* (weeding time) is followed by the *dawdáwat*, when people occupy themselves with the weaving of baskets (*magláxa*). Although this business may be accomplished at any time of the year, nevertheless the period that elapses between the *agbablát* and reaping time, is the most suitable, and consequently it has been set aside by custom for that kind of work, and it has been given a special name: *dawdáwat* or *aglaláxa*.

All through the *dawdáwat* a diligent Isneg does not fail to *magso-báń* (a term never used for the same kind of work done before weeding time) or go and see if perchance some palay has been harmed through one cause or another. Indeed from now on everything depends on the vigilance of the farmer, as a legion of enemies are ready to pounce upon the field, especially at the time the ears begin to form. But let us not anticipate.

When the paddy is about half grown, it is advisable to place some *apniyán kapónān* in the field, in order to cause the rice to reach its full height quickly and also to keep away harmful insects. The *apniyán kapónān* is a kind of rattan whose bark is reddish and whose leaves are very white underneath.

If some stalks of palay at this same stage of growth seem affected 243 by the heat of the sun and threaten to wither and die, plant a *ratúb* 789 in the middle of the field and everything will come out all right. The *ratúb* is a kind of headless *bólo*-bamboo (Schizostachyum mucronatum, Mack.), namely one that was found headless before it was cut, for instance one whose top had been blown off by the wind.

Should the paddy be very weak and a good many stalks have fallen down already, put some *xánăy* among the latter, so that they will rise again and be able to ear at leisure. The *xánăy* is a sturdy kind of grass that grows in forests and reaches a height of two yards; its leaves are covered with hair and comparatively very broad.

Palay that is overhanging a path along the field, without being protected by a fence, should be kept upright by means of a *săysáy*, which consists of bamboos tied at a convenient height to a few sticks stuck in the ground, at regular intervals, all along the path. The *săysáy* prevents the rice from being spoiled, for instance by being trampled upon by passers-by.

In order to cause the paddy to flower quickly, it is advisable to place *amusabúsa-* in the *kómān*. This is a grass that grows in the forest and is some fifteen inches tall; its leaves are red underneath, and its inflorescence resembles those of the ditch millet and of the joint grass.

As soon as the ears start flowering, wrap a *pantád* in a piece of cloth, and tie it to the first flowering palay you come across. The *pantád* is a kind of branchless madrepore that must be fetched from the seashore.

When preparing rice pudding at this time of the year,[1] a part of the 782 same should be offered (*písi-*) to the spirits, while reciting the following prayer. The text was given me by *Um[illegible]* from Abbil (O dialect). *Ne ma- awámo abulbulón ditálon ta dia umad-adamní kiyá ómānko* (Here then, this is yours, companion of the jungle fowl, so that you be not approaching my rice field).

The Isneg distinguish four stages of the rice when it is earing, ~~namely~~: 243 789

Maxabu-sit: "To be pregnant" (also said of animals), when the ears are still covered, but their presence is already clearly apparent.

Maxabútoy: when the ears are peeping out, but as yet without spreading.

Nabuyág: when the ears are spreading and ready to flower.

[1] [i.e. weeding time, August -- Analyst]

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787 *Nadátag*: when the whole field is covered with ears and the palay is beginning to ripen.

From now on new enemies are making their appearance, and it is the duty of every Isneg farmer to know them and to learn how to frustrate their evil-intentioned endeavors.

The first to appear at this season are the stinkbugs, who empty young ears of rice by sucking out their milky grains. These bugs, when numerous, are able to ravage within a short time the most promising field of palay. When you remark that your paddy *maxalixa* (is attacked by stinkbugs), get a bamboo tube of *bási*-beer, *aülattóñ*-herbs, and a small chick, mix the *aülattóñ* with the *bási*, place the tube and its mixture somewhere in the center of your *kómān*, and tie the chick next to it. After one night go and bring back the chick, which must remain alive, and leave the tube where it is. This is a sure remedy against stinkbugs and their depredations.

Then we have several kinds of rats:

The *dasság*, a large rat, resembling a vole or field mouse, but with a long tail; it lives in the bushes, and is very destructive.

The *du-mág*, another large vole or field mouse, said to be a spirit, which, when very big, the Isneg are afraid to kill.

The fruits of the *pa-lí*, a kind of slender and very hard spiny bamboo; when dropping on the ground, these fruits change into mice, not larger than a finger, and completely destroy the neighboring fields.

To exterminate these pests, get *latúb*, a low herb that may be found almost in any place, and put a whole plant somewhere at the foot of one of the rice stalks. With this one *latúb* the whole field will be protected, and all rats and mice that dare gnaw any of your palay will be killed.

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857 After the rats come the birds, two kinds of which are especially destructive:

The *ballit*, a very small passerine bird with a short white bill and brown-red plumage; it is very gluttonous and usually appears in large flocks.

The *sigkaráu* (so called from its cry), also a passerine bird, and almost as much be feared as the preceding.

To frighten them away, scarecrows should be put up all through the field. Any kind will do: old rags, long strings stretched over the paddy, empty tins making noise when moved by the wind, etc. But these are rarely sufficient, as the birds are usually very numerous and 243 they soon get used to what they feared at first. So the only real 857 remedy consists in watching the field and driving the birds away by shouting (*makasáraw*), by throwing missiles at them, by pulling strings that set scarecrows in motion, etc. This is of course a very tedious process and it would take much valuable time, were it not that it can be done by the children, without any trouble on the part of the parents, except that of going now and then to see if the youngsters are not napping. The latter, however, generally enjoy this kind of a job, and get lots of fun out of it, the more so that they usually find leisure to obtain an occasional dainty, either by hunting for it in the near-by forest, or by pilfering it from an adjoining garden. Besides, they are rarely alone, and a group of Isneg boys and girls is never at a loss to find amusement in some kind of game or play, in order to fill up the time between an occasional shout, the throwing of a pebble, or the pulling of a string connected with scarecrows. The latter contrivance is one of the most convenient, as it allows the watchers to lie down, when they grow tired: the only thing for them to do is to attach the end of the string to one of their toes and to move the leg from time to time.

It also happens that the ears of rice are attacked by the *duńgali*, a 243 kind of smut fungus; but fortunately this occurs very rarely and always in rather isolated cases, which is probably due to the Isneg system of farming: fields that are scattered and are never planted with rice twice in succession.

Finally we have the most cunning of all foes, man. 243

A passer-by may become envious of your splendid crop and, full of 789 spite at your prospective luck, nip (*magbu-síl*) one of the young kernels, without detaching it from its ear. Such a proceeding causes the *kómān* to be ravaged by birds.

Or a woman who has little rice herself, may be coveting yours, and stick some *ańrappút*-herbs in your field, pouring coconut oil all around them. In this way she causes your palay to disappear and to be lost to you.

When damage has been done in your rice field by evil spirits, you 243 should go and plant a spear in it, offer *inapúxān* (betel for chewing) 782 and pray:

Italná-ko ya orúńān ta dumálo ya atoná dăyá mańrawát (I drive the shaft [of a spear] into the ground so that the poison of the destroying spirits gather here).

243 The text of this prayer was given me by *Băydán* from Tawit (O
78 dialect, Main branch).

Before finishing this subject, allow me to warn you against the spirit
776 *Darantán*, who throws stones at people who emit a shout when reaping time approaches.

4. HARVESTING RICE AND STORING IN BARNS

243 The Isneg reap their rice (*maggáni*) some time in November or December. The terms *xáni, xaniyán, maggáni,* are used exclusively for harvesting rice.

There is no special *taximmatón* or sign for harvesting time (*aggaxáni*), as everything depends on the ripening palay, and this can be examined in the field without the help of other indications. Nevertheless it is said by the Isneg that reaping time in general begins with the appearance of the *papparaxăy*[38] or fruit of the *tabbág*-tree (a species of Ficus with fruits growing on the stem and the main branches), but this is only a very vague indication of the time for beginning the harvest, as the fields are not all ready at the same time, so that each particular *kómān* has to be inspected by itself.

243 Reaping, like planting and weeding, is a woman's job. In other
462 parts of the Mountain Province, the men, although much less dexterous than the women, do not scorn to help the latter in this all-important work; but, in Apayaw, no Isneg worth the name would deign to enter the field with his wife and the girls in order to cut down a single ear of rice.

243 The reaper cuts off each ear of palay separately with the help of her *ikó*-knife, held in her right hand, and gathers the ears in her left hand, as many as she can clasp. When the cannot grasp any more, she binds (*magbattá-* or *mamtá-*) them into a small bundle (*battá-*) and throws the latter behind her on the ground. The culm is cut some five inches below the neck or junction of ear and stalk: the part of the culm that remains attached to the ear is called *ákaw*, the rest is the *daxámi* (called *daxádag*, as long as it remains on the field).

There are always several women working together; if there are not enough girls in the family, some of the neighbors come to the rescue. The reapers stand in a row, not very far apart from one another, and go on straight ahead. Behind them the bundles of palay are lying

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[38] Children use it for a toy by piercing it with a wooden pin and making it spin like a top.

on the ground in rows more or less at right angles to the line of the 243
reapers.

Besides her *ĭkó*-knife, the reaper carries a small basket (*arín*) attached somewhere at her waist by means of a strip of rattan, and used for storing *xúput*, that is, detached branches (of ears), ears that are cut too closely to the neck making it impossible to tie them with the rest, and immature ears that could not be kept for any length of time. The *arín* is a basket, square at the rim and round at the [415] bottom, from twelve to fifteen inches deep, with a diameter, at the rim, of from eight to ten inches.

The reapers generally protect the calves of their legs by winding rags around them: these rags actually go under the pompous name of *sipátut* (from the Spanish *zapatos*), "shoes".

Now let us consider the preparations that have to be made before harvesting is begun.

First of all, materials have to be gathered (*manalibtó-*) for making 243 462
bands (*battá-*: the same name is applied to the bundle itself), of which each reaper always has a certain quantity about her person. This gathering of materials and the making of the bands, which consist of thin strips of bamboo or bark, about half a yard long, are men's duties, although women occasionally lend a helping hand in putting the last touch to the thinning of the strips.

The kinds of bamboo preferred by the Isneg for this particular 243
purpose, are:

The *kawắyan* (Bambusa blumeana, Schultes. f.), the ordinary spiny bamboo.

The *bólo* (Schizostachyum mucronatum, Mack.), the ordinary unarmed bamboo.

The *pasíńan*, differing from the *kawắyan* in its walls that are lined with a membrane.

The *bắyug*, a kind of unarmed bamboo with very thick walls and a comparatively narrow cavity.

The *ballowít*, a kind of very slender unarmed bamboo.

Besides the bamboo, the Isneg also use the *sirút* or bark of the *sinalíxăn*, a forest tree; and some people even consider this as the best material.

Should anybody sneeze (*maqbanắn*) when starting to gather these [784] materials, they must not go on, but wait until the next day, lest one of them die and be unable to partake of the new rice.

243 Then the *sixáy*-hut has to be looked over, and if anything is wanting,
782 it must be brought in. In each *sixáy* there should be a *dapúg* or
415 hearth, with fire (*apúy*), but no taxáń (three stones for supporting cooking utensils), as no cooking is done there.

A mortar (*altóń*) and one or more pestles (*alló*) must also be present, but the former may find its place at the outside.

Before the harvest begins, the following objects have to be brought to the *sixáy*:

The *subná-*: a bunch of betel nuts and one of betel leaves (no lime). The *subná-* is put down on the floor of the hut, near the fire, and every day, as long as the harvest lasts, some part of it is used for the *inapúxān* (betel for chewing) of the spirits.

A *patuxáw*: a large basket (ordinary type: square bottom, round rim) for storing the *xúput* or immature rice and the rest, that has been collected in the *arin*-baskets of the reapers, mentioned above. It is placed near the fire, and people are absolutely forbidden to walk over it, on pain of causing the spirit (*kaduduwá*)[39] of their rice to leave and to go over to someone else's rice. At each meal eaten in this hut, at harvesting time, the Isneg place *inapúxān* and a few ears of palay in the *patuxáw*. This basket is not removed from the *sixáy* till after the harvest, when the *inapúxān* it contains is thrown away, and the palay is roasted over the fire, pounded and eaten.

Last but not least, the *aligmamán*. Strictly speaking, the *aligmamán* is a small basket of the ordinary type (square bottom, round rim), and is of daily use for storing betel, lime and so on. In the *sixáy*-hut, however, it is used for storing amulets, and the name *aligmamán* is given to any kind of small basket, whether the *aligmamán* proper or some other one, for instance the *sinalimbáń*, which is a kind of small fancy basket of different shapes, made from sundry materials, and
243 consequently rather ornate. At the beginning of the harvest, and
781 later on, at any time, as long as palay is being cut in that particular field, amulets are placed in the *aligmamán*, so that very soon there is a whole assortment of them. They may be chosen from the following list:

Xippaxippáw: A kind of herb placed in the *aligmamán* on the first day, before any reaping has been done.

Karrán: A leafless plant, mentioned before. A whole basketful of these is placed in the hut on the morning of the first day of the harvest; it is thrown away when the palay is transferred to the granary.

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[39] The same term is used for the spirit of man.

Pamaldóń: A low herb with small leaves, found almost anywhere, to be placed in the *aligmamán* at the beginning of the harvest.

Barăyábăy: A kind of herb, some eight inches tall, growing in forests. Wrapped in a piece of cloth and placed in the *aligmamán*, it dispels rain.

Mámaw: A kind of herb, some two feet tall, with red leaves. When placed in the *aligmamán* with the preceding (not wrapped), it causes rainfall. If you wish the rain to stop, throw it out.

Buríńgŏt: A herb that causes the reaping to go on nicely.

Dugsú-: The dayflower (Commelina sp.). It increases the harvest.

Xaddáto: A low herb, found almost anywhere. It causes the increase of the palay that is being reaped.

Doxódog: A herb, some eight inches tall, growing in the forest. It causes the increase of the palay.

Paxăypăy: A mosslike plant (Selaginella sp.). It causes the increase of the palay that has been grown.

Aboká: A low herb, with yellow flowers, found in reedy areas.

Alipánăy: A low herb, growing in forests.

Anipiúd: A low herb, found in the forest.

Áńgoăú: A kind of grass, whose stalks never grow close together.

Aínăy: A low herb, with comparatively long leaves, to be found in forested areas.

Apigpigkó: A kind of creeping herb, with small orbicular cuplike leaves, growing all over the district.

Apitpít: A low herb, found in gardens.

Asu-ráw: A low herb, with needlelike leaves, found in reedy areas.

Leaves of the *bádo taxokó-* (literally: "coat of the *taxokó-*", a bird): A middle-sized forest tree; the leaves are red underneath.

Balsáńan: A herb, some five inches tall, found in the forest.

Barániw: A kind of herb.

Basáńal: A creeping herb, with small red leaves, found in gardens.

Bawígăn (Bayag pronunciation): A low herb, bearing only two leaves, red underneath; it grows all over the district.

Binakăg: The sunflower (Helianthus sp.).

Daxădag: Rice straw, remaining on the field after the harvest.

Dalimpóxo: A herb, some twenty inches tall, with small red flowers, growing almost anywhere.

Daraaró-: A herbaceous vine, found in almost any place.

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Doxináy: A tall herb, growing in forested areas.

Kaddát agnáyan (literally: herb of the spirit *Agnáyan*): A small flowerless climbing herb, whose leaves look as if they were withered and dry.

Kaddát dalaxétăn (literally: herb of the *dalaxétăn*-bird): A low herb, growing almost anywhere.

Lixawás: A low herb, growing on river banks.

Liplipáw: A kind of herb.

Lumlumáy: A low herb, found in grassy areas.

Maraawíg: A creeping herb, with yellow flowers, growing anywhere.

Marabarăyóbăy: A creeping herb, with very thick small leaves, found all over the district.

Maradaŭraw: A herb, about two feet tall, with large leaves, growing in almost any place.

Maradila: A creeping herb, with small tonguelike (hence its name: *dila*, "tongue") leaves, and small white flowers, growing on river banks.

Opépat: A very small herb, with white flowers, growing in rocky places.

Opépăy: A shrub, with small shiny leaves, found in forests.

Paxaŭtúd: A low herb, with white flowers, growing all over the district.

Paxatpát: A creeping herb, with small shining leaves, climbing over rocks and stones.

Palabni: A very low herb, growing in the forest.

Parbuwáy: A kind of herb, some twelve inches tall, growing in forested areas.

Patáyag: A herb, some ten inches tall, growing almost anywhere.

Pawpáw: A kind of forest tree, resembling the mango tree, but with fruits smaller than the cultivated mango.

Păyáw: A herb, some eight inches tall, growing almost anywhere.

Puŭútăn: A low herb, found in the vicinity of brooks.

Sissixáwan: A kind of herb.

Taxalópit: A herbaceous vine, found on river banks.

Taxasidát (Abbil pronunciation): A creeping herb with red-and-green leaves.

Takkăg or *sakkăg*: A kind of schizaeaceous fern (Lygodium sp.), differing from the *nito* (another Lygodium), especially in its uselessness for binding purposes.

Takkág líńān or *kaddát líńān* or *kaddát ińáto* (literally: takkag 243 or herb of the spirit Lingan, of the spirit Ingato): A kind of scandent 789 vine, resembling the *takkág*, but with smaller leaves, found in rice fields long since abandoned.

Tallá: A low herb, growing all over the district.

Tańtáń líńān (literally: Lingan's calabash for storing lime): A kind of fungus consisting in a white ball supported by a stipe, and parasitic on the stem of other plants.

Turátud: A kind of herb, some six inches tall, with very narrow leaves about two inches long, growing in rocky places.

Before going to the field to start reaping palay, the women have 24 to *magdaán*, that is, to prepare everything the men need at home: 462 they pound enough rice to last them until the end of the harvest, they gather vegetables for viands, leaves to be used for plates, etc., so that the men will have nothing to do but to cook for themselves and for their families, no real cooking being done in the *síxăy*-hut.

Here follow the names of most of the spirits who come around at 776 this time of the year:[1] 782

Abód: Helps the reapers.

Abalúd: *Inapúxān* (betel for chewing) is offered to him.

Aglalannawán: Helps the reapers.

Alipuńdán: Causes the reapers' toes to get sore all over and swell.

Ańáp: Kills people at the time of the harvest.

Ańát: A female spirit helping the reapers. If the women dream about her at night, they will offer her *inapúxān* in the *síxăy*-hut the next day.

Ańrixád: Increases the palay. Women often dream about him; when they do, he tells them that they will reap nothing, but they know that it is just the contrary.

Arúrin: When the Isneg take their meals, if they fail to give this female spirit a share, they will not harvest anything.

Babalasińinúd: Lives in the *síxăy*-hut.

Bannit: Is angered by the failure of the Isneg to sacrifice a pig at the beginning of the harvest, in which case little rice is raised.

Binu-sílān: Helps the reapers.

Bońós: Is invoked by the shaman and comes at the sacrifice that takes place before the harvest.

Dagdagamiyán (Bayag pronunciation): A female spirit who makes children sick who play where people are busy harvesting.

Dalimáń: *Inapúxān* is offered to him, lest he come near.

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[1] [i.e harvest time in December.--Analyst]

Xinuúdān: Is driven away at the beginning of the harvest, lest he come to measure the receptacles for palay, and the latter dwindle. 716 782

Magkáwāy: *Inapúxān* is offered to him.

Magwáñag: *Inapúxān* is offered to him.

Nappiyó: Spirits living in the rice field.

Palpálād: *Inapúxān* is offered to him.

Punáy: Resembles a bird. *Inapúxān* is offered to him at the beginning of the harvest.

Sían: A companion of Pilay, at the time of the harvest.

Síbo: A good spirit; always accompanies the women when they are reaping, rain or sunshine.

Sildádo (from the Spanish *soldado*, " soldier ") : Spirits resembling horses. If children play boisterously near the house, these spirits will cause the death of one of them.

Sípa: *Inapúxān* is offered to him in the rice field, on the first day of the harvest.

Sipúút: *Inapúxān* is offered to him, on top of the house ladder, at the beginning of the harvest.

Taxokó: *Inapúxān* is offered to him.

A nameless female spirit living at the *Nanánan* brook, behind the mountains, on the opposite bank of the Apayaw river from Bayag. She counts the palay while wearing a raincoat; as soon as she is approached by any of the people who live there, she disappears.

When everything is in readiness, the Isneg proceed in the following way. 243 782 789

First of all, a pig is sacrificed, while a *dorarákit* or shaman *maxaníto*, " communicates with the spirits ". During this ceremony, a leaf of the betel (*xawád*) is torn up and one of its shreds, cálled *binuríān*, is placed near the hearth. One of the animal's legs (*lótub*) is placed in a small *báña* (earthen pot used for cooking rice, etc.), and the latter is put down on the floor of the granary (*álañ*).

The following prayer, whose text was given me by *Uwíl* from Bolo (O dialect, Main branch), is one of those that are recited during this sacrifice. The spirit is supposed to pronounce the words through the mouth of the shaman.

Mapáñko pē ya dordorerémān yo maggiyán kadāyó isagaddán,[42] *ta*

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[42] Cf. footnote 19 supra. I think that the following free translation of this prayer comes very near to the meaning intended by the Isneg: I come to take my abode amongst you, my faithful people, lest you be bewitched by the other spirits (or: by the Christians).

44: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1941 OA1 Philippines
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243 *mańsińta pē ńa mabalsiān kiyó am-ammowán dāyó ilańitān*[43] *ńa*
782 *isagaddán* (I shall go now to approach residing among the Christians,
789 as we are afraid now to be made sick through the knowledge of the heavenly Christians).

Once this indispensable business has been duly attended to, an old woman, not necessarily a shaman, makes ready to arrange the *pinudóń*, which will be explained presently. Before leaving the house, she offers rice pudding to the Pilay-spirit who resides on the *páxa*-shelf above the hearth, and recites the following prayer, called *písi*- (offering food, etc. to the spirits):

Ne uwámo ílāy ta batbattuxámmo ya an-anâ-o, uwaámmo ka mabtúgda péyań (Here, this is yours, Ilay, so that you satiate my children, make that they be always satiated).

The text of this prayer was obtained from *Uwil*, a Boĭo man (O dialect, Main branch).

The same woman also takes a little of the new rice that has been toasted over the fire, and puts it in a small *bakóba*- (a dry calabash used for storing rice). Then she places the latter near the hearth, where it has to remain indefinitely; that rice is never eaten. The calabash with its contents is called *indág*.

In the meanwhile, a man has gone to bar with a *sarańásań* the path that leads to the *kóman*, in order to warn all passersby not to approach the reapers. This barrier remains from three to five days, after which it is removed together with the taboo. There are two ways of building a *sarańásań*:

One consists in placing two or three bamboo sticks spaced one above another, across the path.

The other way consists in fixing a single bamboo stick, provided at one end with an ax (*parakól*) and at the other end with a hatchet (*aliwá*), across the path.

At about 5 o'clock in the evening, the old woman proceeds to the field (*mańútud*) taking along the following objects:

A *damáxan*, a small basket, round and almost spherical.

A leaf of the *táraw* palm (a fan palm, probably a species of Livistona), that serves for a cover to the *damáxan*-basket.

One or more sections of *bulálaw* or *bokáń* (two varieties of sugar cane).

A bunch of *takkág*-ferns, mentioned before.

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[43] *Lánit* means: sky, heaven; *ilánit*: resident(s) of the sky, heaven, a class of spirits; *ilańitān*: heavenly, beautiful, majestic, etc.

Some *namandanán* or sea sand, of which a certain amount is always kept in the house. 243 782 789

One internode of a *túboń* cane filled with sea sand. The *túboń* resembles the *bassáw* or bamboo grass, but its leaves are larger.

A few amulets that will be mentioned presently.

After she has arrived in the rice field, she places the *túboń*-internode filled with sand in the *sixăy*, and the *damáxan*-basket with its cover and its contents of *takkâg*-ferns, together with the sugar cane, behind the *síxăy*-hut. Then she goes to the stalks of rice that grow next to the *síxăy* and sprinkles them with the *namandanán*-sand.

Others, instead of sea sand, use *rabráb*, " sand gathered at the source of a brook "; in which case they wrap it in a piece of cloth, cut one stalk of rice, and tie both cloth and stalk to one of the posts of the *síxăy*.

In other places again, they use a *tupáń*, which consists in the lower section of a *túboń*-reed, whose upper part has been removed by accident, and whose hollow has been filled up with sand without the help of man. This they tie, by means of *takkâg*-ferns, to a stalk of palay, together with the other objects that will be mentioned presently.

After the sprinkling of the rice with sand, the woman *maxapaapúg*, that is, she ties one or more of the following amulets to the nearest stalk of palay, at its base, using *takkâg*-ferns for bands:

Inapúxăn, never omitted.

A-mám: A kind of hard black lichen growing on wet rocks.

Ańinamây: A kind of herb. It is used with both palay and maize, and causes them to last long.

Taximbáńon: A kind of amaranthaceous plant, one yard tall, with dark-brown leaves, red underneath. It is extensively cultivated for ornamental purposes.

In case the woman happens to own more than one rice field, a stalk of palay is provided with *inapúxăn*, *takkâg* and the rest, at the corner of each field. After the harvest, the ears of these stalks and the three bundles (*battá-*) that will be mentioned presently, are bound together by means of *takkâg*-ferns, and placed in the granary before all other palay. This belongs to Pilay, it is the spirit of the rice; and, whenever an old granary is abandoned for a new one, Pilay's property is transferred to the latter. Even though it may have accumulated into a comparatively large amount, it is never consumed but always transferred from one granary to another.

243 Each of the stalks just mentioned, and also each bundle (*battá-*) 782 made from their ears, are both called *pinudóń*. The same name is 789 also applied to the *damáxan*-basket and the rest, behind the *sixăy*-hut. This third variety of *pinudóń* is prepared in the following way:

When the old woman is through with the ceremonies at the first stalk or palay, she harvests three small bundles (*battá-*),[44] and brings them behind the *sixăy*-hut. Here she lays the sugar cane on the ground, and superimposes the *damáxan*-basket filled with *takkág*-ferns, among which she has thrust the customary *inapúxăn*. Then she arranges the three bundles of palay around the basket in such a way as to keep the latter in the middle.

I shall give here the names of a few more amulets, some or all of which may be used in this connection:

To be placed in the *damáxan*-basket:

A *paggá*, a small brown pebble from the river; never to be omitted. After the harvest, when the palay is transferred to the granary, this *paggá* is put in a small *báńa*-jar, and placed in the granary. The same pebble is used every year for the same purpose, so that it is not necessary to get a fresh one from the river.

Taxalítaw: A plant mentioned before.

To be tied to the first of the three *battá-* (bundles of the *pinudóń*):

An *abatbattúg*-insect wrapped in a piece of cloth. This is a very small brown wingless insect that moves along jumping.

Amsíń: A low herb growing all over the district.

To be tied to, stuck in, or placed on the *pinudóń* (stalk, bundle or palay behind the hut):

Aṅṅodán: A herb some twelve inches tall, with white-and-blue flowers. When placed on the *pinudóń*, it brings heavy rainfall.

Ammodoṅán: A creeping herb with small white flowers, growing in the forest.

Aṅigáw: A herb some four inches tall, found in forested areas.

Balásań: A kind of herb not growing at Kabugaw.

Démăy: A low herb with small leaves, found all over the district.

Inindaggán: A plant, some four inches tall, with five or six red leaves, and flowers hanging down; it grows in dense forests.

Inuglăy: A low herb with very small leaves and spiny fruits, growing almost anywhere.

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[44] Four *battá-* equal one ordinary bundle or *ésiń*. One hundred *ésiń* or four hundred *battá-* equal one *ńópo*.

Marabatónit: A herb, some five inches tall, with white flowers; it resembles the globe amaranth, but has smaller leaves. 243 782 789

Takkág líńān: A plant mentioned before.

Tóyug: A very tall herb with white flowers and red fruits, found almost anywhere.

Turátud: A plant mentioned before.

One or more of the following amulets may be placed in the *síxăy*, on the floor:

Labní: A herb, some five inches tall, growing in forests. It increases the palay.

Ambág: A herbaceous vine with white flowers, found all over the district.

Labiyáń: A low herb growing in forested areas.

Besides these, another amulet may be placed at random somewhere in the rice field, namely: the *maradúra-*, which is a herb some six inches tall and grows in forests.

While the old woman offers the *inapúxān* to the spirits, at the time of the preparation of the *pinudóń*, she recites one or more or the following prayers. The texts were given me by *Lampá* from Dangla (O dialect, Main branch). 243 789

Ne uwám andáyo maggiyán ka tańaluxagtáp ka ńódo (Here, this is yours, Andayo, who reside in the [visible] sky above).

Iápugko ikáw ńilńilá dapán ta umad-adăyyóka (I offer betel [for chewing] to you, Yellow-soled [spirit], so that you be going away).

Iápugko ikáw maggiyán ka íli lixáyan ta dínā- balbalsiánan (I offer betel to you, who reside at the town of Ligayan, so that you do not make us sick).

Iápugko ikáw maggiyán ka laáy ta iddánā- ka bitté- ammáy (I offer betel to you, who reside at Laay, so that you give me a little rice).

Iápugko ikáw alindodóăy umáńmo ipóăy ya sinotónmo ńa ammáy (I offer betel to you, Alindodoay, come and drop the rice you carried on your head).

After the completion of all these ceremonies in the *kómān*, the woman comes back home.

In Apayaw customs differ with regard to the time and the circumstances in which reaping is begun in earnest.

In most places, the Isneg start on the morning following the *pinudóń*-ceremony, and reap palay for about an hour. The next day, they remain in the field until noon; and after that, they stay the entire day: this lasts until all rice has been cut.

243 782 Elsewhere, they go to the field on the day after the *pinudóń*-ceremony, either in the morning or in the afternoon, and harvest one basketful of palāy (*manalégăt*: Bayag pronunciation). But after that, they stay at home for three whole days without repairing to the *kómān*. Then finally they go again (*mamalóńon*), and this time continue the reaping until the whole work is done. The palay of the first basket is not pounded in the regular way, but simply roasted over the fire, and the rice is put in a calabash and placed over the hearth. When the harvest is over, this rice is pounded and eaten just like ordinary rice.

In any case, on the day following the *pinudóń*-ceremony, the reapers take with them to the field a *sípań* (young coconut) and place it in the *sixäy*-hut. This *sípań* must be so young that it could not have formed before the *agtotognó* or time of planting. At Bayag, and only there, if the *sípań* is all too young, the old woman takes it with her on the day of the *pinudóń*; if not, they do as elsewhere and take it with them the next morning.

After the reapers have come home in the evening of the first day (the day following the *pinudóń*-ceremony), the owner of the rice field, the man, takes a coconut and divides it (*magbakká*) with his hatchet, while he pronounces the following words:

To di bakkánnu aníto ta dínu bakkán ólomi (Divide this, spirits, so that you do not divide our heads).

Then they cut out the *aludákid* (a narrow strip of coconut meat mentioned before) or *ludákid* around the edge of one of the halves, bind it into a bundle together with some palay, some charcoal, and a short slender stick cut out of bamboo, and hang it on a cane of *bassáw* or bamboo grass stuck in the ground among the bushes, not far from the house. The whole outfit is called *băyúbăy* and should prevent the reapers from getting sick. If this ceremony were omitted, there is every reason to believe that some of the women would fall victims to disease.

755 Should it happen that a member of the household, whether a reaper or not, becomes sick at the beginning of the harvest, the Isneg perform the *púpug*-ceremony. A chicken is caught by a shaman; she kills it inside the house and recites the usual prayers; then the meat is consumed by the inmates of the house, both men and women. While the women of the immediate neighborhood, no others, are allowed to be present, all men who do not belong to the house, are strictly forbidden to attend the *púpug*.

In case you are mourning a member of your household who died at reaping time, you must reserve the *tagăytăy* (Bayag pronunciation) for him, before you begin to harvest your fields in earnest. The *tagăytăy* consists of four very small bundles of palay, not thicker than one's finger, that have to be placed near the *sizăy*, at the outside. 765

When rice pudding is offered to the spirits at the beginning of the harvest, the following prayers (*pispísi-*) may be recited: 243 782

Ne uwámo ńa dadam-ăn ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, Dadam-an,[45] so that you go away).

Ne uwámo ńa napiyă ńa anito ta umáńnă- sidúńăn (Here, this is yours, good spirit, so that you come under my house [to help me]).

Ne uwámo ńa naggupăn ka lazíma ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, you who use a *lazíma*-pot[46] for a plate, so that you go away).

Ne uwámo naggupăn ka rusúd ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, you who use a *rusúd*-pot[47] for a plate, so that you go away).

Ne uwámo naggupăn ka amotó ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, you who use an *amotó*-jar[48] for a plate, so that you go away).

Ne uwámo naggupăn ka báńa ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, you who use a *báńa*-jar[49] for a plate, so that you go away).

Ne uwámo naggupăn ka zituldăn ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, you who use a *zituldăn*-pot[50] for a plate, so that you go away).

Ne uwámo naggupăn ka táxo- ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, you who use a coconut shell for a plate, so that you go away).

Ne uwámo naggupăn ka duyát ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, you who use a wooden basin for a plate, so that you go away).

Ne uwámo naggupăn ka dońdóń ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, you who use a *dońdóń*-jar[51] for a plate, so that you go away).

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[45] *Dadam-ăn* also means: doorsill. *Dadam-ăn* here is the spirit who resides at the doorsill, just above the ladder.

[46] The *lazíma* is a small iron pot with a round bottom (not flat), used in the kitchen.

[47] The *rusúd* is a large iron pot with a round bottom, used for boiling the juice of the sugar cane.

[48] The *amotó* is a jar of earthenware, used for holding drinking water.

[49] The *báńa* is a jar of earthenware, used for cooking rice, etc.

[50] The *zituldăn* is a rather large iron pot with a round bottom, used for preparing *bási*-beer, etc. The *zituldăn* is larger than the *lazíma*, but smaller than the *rusúd*. All three have the same shape; the *lazíma* has a round iron handle, the other two have none.

[51] The *dońdóń* is a large jar of earthenware, used for cooking rice, etc., mostly when there is a feast.

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Ne uwámo naggupân ka bísin ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, you who use a *bísin*-ornament[52] for a plate, so that you go away).

Ne uwámo battúg ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, Battug,[53] so that you go away).

Ne uwámo matá taxasinnánnakami (Here, this is yours, sun, look after us).

Ne uwámo ńa naggupân ka tariyáw ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, you who use a *tariyáw*[54] for a plate, so that you go away).

Ne uwámo ńa naggupân ka múlat ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, you who use a *múlat*-bowl[55] for a plate, so that you go away).

Ne uwámo anito kiyá labbâń taxasinnánnakami (Here, this is yours, spirit in the coconut cut in halves, look after us).

Ne uwámo anito kiyá ápat ta sidúńăńnakami (Here, this is yours, spirit in the cotton, so that you stay under our house).

Ne uwámo di-rán ta ialûtmo kiyá- to xásat (Here, this is yours, Di-ran, so that you show me good luck).

Ne uwámo abuwés ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, Abuwes, so that you go away).

Ne uwámo árăn ta umadăyyóka (Here, this is yours, Aran, so that you go away).

These texts were given me by *Băydán* from Tawit (O dialect, Main branch).

242 After all necessary precautions have been taken and all customary ceremonies have been attended to, the women finally begin harvesting in earnest, and stay in the field the whole day. They begin with the *kalaxân*-rice, usually a small field or part of a field of early palay, and continue with the rest, until the last rice has been harvested and brought into the *sixăy*, where it is piled up in one of the corners (*magdalatún*)[56] into a *bańíbăń* (heap of palay).

The first two or three bundles (*battá-*) that are brought into the *sixăy*, to begin a *bańíbăń*, are called *tańípan*; the others have no special name.

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[52] The *bísin* consists of a combination of beads and pieces of shell of different size and shape, hung from the neck.

[53] *Battúg* also means: satiety. The spirit in question is supposed to eat his fill and so to consume everything or, at least, a large amount.

[54] The *tariyáw* is a plate of earthenware of Chinese origin.

[55] The *múlat* is a large wooden bowl.

[56] To pile up (stones, palay, etc.) in general is: *dugsúkan*.

Every day the women reap one *ikkám* (one day's harvest) and, if the sun shines, throw down (*ukắyan*) the latest addition to the *bańíbāń* (bundles of rice piled up in the *sixăy*-hut), and spread the *battá-* (bundles) in the sun (*mamilắg*; said of palay, clothes, etc.) to dry (*maxáńo*; also said of Indian corn, beans, etc.; not: of clothes, etc.). Even palay that has been dried for several days, if it is found to be *nalumắy* or damp (not thoroughly dry), is brought out again and sunned, unless they prefer to dry it over the fire. But the latter process is never resorted to with paddy that has not passed through the ordinary stages of sunning, or that happens to retain more than a slight degree of moisture, and so to be wetter than what is called *nalumắy*. Whenever rain threatens, the rice is piled up again (*magdalatún*) into a *bańíbāń* (heap of palay), inside the *sixăy*-hut. The women must be careful not to sun palay that is only half matured, lest it become entirely useless (*matúmăy*): it must be reserved for roasting, which will be explained in due time. To sun palay for the first time is *mańwarwár*; after that it is called *mamilắg*, even though the rice be freshly cut. 243

The palay is sunned, either twice a day, late in the morning and some time in the afternoon, or only in the afternoon; but all bundles must be exposed to the sun and spread open in rows, at least three times. It is absolutely taboo to count the *battá-* (bundles) while sunning them or while piling them up into a *bańíbāń*; counting will be done later, when it will be attended to with special ceremonies.

Every day, about noon, a man (*manúxan*), usually the owner of the field, brings food to the reapers (*tumúxan*). This food has been cooked at home and wrapped up in leaves, either by himself or by somebody else. Any kind of leaves may serve the purpose, except the first time, when it is necessary to use leaves of the *lippokán*, a kind of banana, whose very small fruits have a thin greenish skin. The food always consists of cooked rice (*nabáw*) and *láda-* (residue of coconut meat from which the oil has been extracted); the addition of other viands is optional. 243 264

The *manúxan* is not allowed to cross a stream, to swim or to go to somebody else's house. If his *kómān* is at the other side of a stream from his house, he has to pass the night in the *sixăy*, and to cook the food as best he can, the hearth of the hut not being fitted out for cooking. The same man must be *manúxan* from the first to the last day of the harvest. 243 784

243 264 782 Generally only one full meal is taken in the *sixăy*, everybody partakes of it, and the following two ceremonies have to be performed every time:

They take three small leaves (any kind) and put a pinch of *pinatúpăt*, placed in the *sixăy* for this purpose, mixed with coconut oil on each of them. The *pinatúpăt* is a block of rice pudding wrapped up in strips of palm leaves. Then the *manúxan* places one of these leaves in the hearth (*dapúg*), one on the palay stored inside (*bańibāń*), and one outside, near the ladder. At this juncture the following prayer may be recited. My informant, *Yadán* from Nagbabalayan (O dialect, K branch), called it *maglappá-*, a synonym for *pisi-* (offering food, etc. to the spirits).

Ne kuwámo ilăy paglaxibannakami maggáni (Here, this is yours, Ilay, watch us harvesting).

For the second ceremony they take several (at least four) leaves of the *balbál*, a small tree with brown bark and leaves resembling those of the cabbage. On each of these leaves they put a little *nabáw* (cooked rice) and a small amount of *láda-* (just mentioned). Then they place one such leaf in the *patuxáw*-basket (containing immature rice, etc.), one on the *bańibāń* (heap of palay), one in the hearth, and one in the *damáxan*-basket, at the *pinudóń*, behind the hut. The one in the hearth, near the fire, is placed there in honor of Pilay, so that he be favorably inclined toward his clients and make them *nadańgăn*, "blessed with a rich harvest".

243 784 Before going on with the description of the activities of the reapers, I shall explain the taboos that have to be observed by them. The reason is that these prohibitions are especially stringent at the beginning of the harvest, the first three or five days, namely all the time the *sarańásań*-barrier (mentioned before) obstructs the path that leads to the field.

The *manírut*, or reapers who bind palay into *battá-* (bundles), are not allowed to swim, to enter the *baláwa* (place near the house where rice is pounded), to take hold of a hatchet, to eat from a plate or dish (they must use leaves), to eat chicken. These taboos remain in force as long as their work lasts.

Any kind of loud noise is absolutely forbidden in and around the *kómān*. The reason for this and similar taboos is to prevent the spirit (*kádudwá*) of the rice from becoming frightened and escaping.

Shouting and singing in or around the *kómān* is tabooed, under pain of imminent illness (*masipńúd*).

It is forbidden to whistle (*magpapannút*), whether in the *kóman* or in the *síxăy*, lest Pilay, the protector of the rice, run away. 243 784

Nobody is allowed to blow any kind of taro flower (*baríri*), lest a famine invade the district. The *baríri*, when blown upon, produces a very shrill sound.

The *patańgó-* must not be played in or around the rice field, lest the wind turn into a typhoon. The *patańgó-* is a section of bamboo, closed at one end, and cut out at the other end into a tapering tongue; one of its sides is provided with a small hole. It is played by striking its tongue either against one's left hand or against the upper end of a hatchet held in one's left hand, while pressing the thumb of one's right hand intermittently over the hole at its side. The tunefulness of the sound it produces depends on the length of its tongue. 243 784 534

Forging (*magbattál*) is prohibited in the village until all the inhabitants have completed the reaping of their fields. 243 784

People are not allowed to winnow (*magsáp*; *asáp*: chaff of rice) rice, although they are permitted to pound it. Winnowing rice at the time is supposed to cause typhoons. In this instance we have a definite proof of the fact that not all taboos remain in force as long as the harvest lasts; indeed, after reaping has been progressing for some time, the Isneg roast immature rice, which they have to pound and winnow before they are able to eat it.

No outsider is permitted to enter a field where reapers are at work. This applies very particularly to all who are not Isneg.

Nobody is allowed to enter the house of the owner of such a field, the members of the household alone excepted.

No outsider is permitted to enter the *baláwa* (place near the house where rice is pounded), and of the owners only those that are not actually binding palay into bundles. On the other hand, it is absolutely required to have a *baláwa* in readiness, before the harvest begins; should this be overlooked, the spirits will be angry and they may even resort to killing.

In some sections of Apayaw, it is forbidden to *maxappó-* (to eat in another man's house) in the house of anybody who owns another *bańíbāń* (palay piled up in the *síxăy*). If both persons own the same *bańíbān*, they are allowed to eat in each other's house.

No fire may be taken from the hearth, to be given to somebody outside of the house.

Nobody is allowed to *magtósa*, to draw water by holding a receptacle under a waterfall (*barańóboń*) and allowing the water to drop into it.

243 784 A person who *magtósa* is liable to be punished by finding the ears of his palay devoid of grain.

Reapers and owners of a field that is being harvested are not permitted to touch needles (*dáxum*).

262 When the Isneg begin to eat new rice, especially the first time, the following articles of food are prohibited: frogs (*tukâ-*), eels (*kíwat*), *addúg* (a species of very small dark-colored shrimp), *to-mám* (a kind of vegetable growing wild), and in some districts,—for instance at Dangia, not at Bolo,—the young shoots (*úbud*) of the *aníboń* (Caryota cumingii, Lodd., a fishtail palm) and any kind of sour fruit.

243 484 The use of arrows (*paltó-*) is absolutely forbidden in the *sixáy*. Even the pronunciation of its name, *paltó-*, in the hut, is taboo.

A person who is cut (*mapló̧g*) by sharp-edged leaves (for instance, those of the *bassáw* or bamboo grass, of the *adás*-sedge, etc.) must not pronounce the word *palláq* (wound caused by these leaves); he is merely allowed to show the wound to his companions, without calling it by name.

The pronunciation of the word *narupâ-*, "broken", is taboo. Anybody who infringes this prohibition may rest assured that one or more of his *báńa*-jars will become *madamméli* (broken at the time of the harvest).

243 195 Besides the above words, whose pronunciation is absolutely forbidden, there are a good many others that must be replaced by a different term.1 In this way a kind of cant or jargon is formed, which an uninitiated person is unable to understand, even though he have a perfect knowledge of Isneg. A few examples will suffice:

	Common language	Reapers' cant
To eat:	*maglámus* or *mańán*	*magdanáq* or *manandáq*[57]
To be hungry:	*mabisín* (if you pronounce this word, you will go hungry for a whole year)	*nala-gíń*
To be stuck in the eye:	*masoltá-* (by reeds, etc.)	*mabuláw*
Dead (when hearing about somebody's death):	*natáy*	*marisam*[58]
Rain:	*udán*	*daródo*

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[57] *Nadanáq*, in ordinary language, means: to be through with the harvest.

[58] Even though the dead person had no field that was being reaped at the time.

1[at harvest time--Analyst]

The following terms have been heard at Talifugu (Bo dialect): 243 195

	Common language	Reapers' cant
Dog:	*áto*	*alíal*
Hog:	*ábuy*	*dinakán*
Chicken:	*anú-*	*kăyabkáb*
Monkey:	*ayóñ*	*kilsáp*
Cat:	*kusá*	*lannáñ*
To eat:	*mañán*	*mañúnág* [59]

This is also the time[1] for proposing riddles (*baníko*), a pastime that 524 is taboo in other seasons. Most of these riddles are stereotyped and well known all over the district, otherwise the solution of some of them would be absolutely impossible, as they consist of words that have become obsolete or that are entirely without meaning. Nevertheless new riddles are always welcome, and so the inventive genius of some of the natives is given much scope.

In order to avoid crowding into this paper too large a number of native texts, I refer the reader to a paper ~~to be~~ published subsequently, in which I give a long list of riddles and of their answers, all of them gathered during my prolonged sojourn in Apayaw.

It is also customary among the natives to set snares (*ílug*) for jungle 223 fowls all around the *kómān*, at the time of the harvest, when these birds are especially bold. An Isneg never fails to improve the opportunity of getting a few choice morsels at little cost.

Harvest time is the season in which most spirits, good and bad, are 243 abroad, and so the Isneg has a busy time, first to force his protectors 782 to come and help him, and then to propitiate or drive away the evil imps that are intent either on stealing or harming his paddy, his most valued possession, or on playing all kinds of mischief and mean tricks. Besides these, in almost every village, we find one or more dwelling places of special *anito* (spirits) that have to be remembered at this time of the year. At Dangla, for instance, the reapers never omit to pay their respects to the genius who lives at *Pinaxolowán*, by offering him *inapúxān* (betel for chewing).

When offering *inapúxān* to the spirits, at harvesting time, some or all of the following prayers may be recited:

Iápugko ikáw ulát ta umad-adăyyóka kadakamí (I offer betel [for chewing] to you, Famine, so that you be going away from us).

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[59] *Maxunág*, in ordinary language, means: to enter the house.

1[i.e., at harvest time -- Analyst]

243 782 *Iápugko ikáw maggiyán ka dammáń ńa maggupán sinublán magsidoka latóxān umadǎyyóka* (I offer betel to you who reside at the other side of the river, who use a *sinublón*-pot [60] for a plate and a *latóxān* [61] for a spoon, go away).

Iápugko ikáw maggiyán ka dammáń magkaw-awíli ańán ta umadǎyyóka (I offer betel to you who reside at the other side of the river, who eat everything in one day, so that you go away).

Iápugko ikáw maggiyán ka dóxo masí maxammǎyka magkaw-awíli ta umadǎyyóka (I offer betel to you who reside at Dogo Masi, who gather your rice in one day, so that you go away).

Iápugko ikáw dummasísi maggiyán ka dóxo masí ta umadǎyyóka (I offer betel to you, Dummasisi, who reside at Dogo Masi, so that you go away).

Iápugko ikáw darapǎypáy magkímat ka kímat ammáy umbĕtka (I offer betel to you, Darapaypay, whose eyelashes are awns of rice, come).

Iápugko ikáw ła-lakǎy magtottotón a báxat xǎyót ta nagkálap ta umadǎyyóka (I offer betel to you, old man, who are carrying a banana on the head after having gone to get products from another district, so that you go away).

Iápugko ikáw tarkirǎy ya magtottotón ka linga-bá ńa ammáy ta umbĕtka (I offer betel to you, Tarkiray, who are carrying a *ła-bá*-basket full of rice on the head, so that you come).

When the last of the above prayers is recited, and people are eating rice pudding. Pilay must be given a share near the hearth.

All the foregoing texts were given me by *Lampá* from Dangla (O dialect, Main branch).

Yadán from Nagbabalayan (O dialect, K branch) gave me the text of another prayer unaccompanied by the usual offering:

Umánko pĕ tagtaxińán ned inalakkán (I come now to sit down with this [rice] I took).

Taxíń means "sitting down in company"; *inalakkán* here means "harvested rice". What follows is a free translation of this prayer, which consists of a statement put in the mouth of a spirit: I come to watch the rice that has been harvested.

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[60] The *sinublán* is the same as the *rusúd*. Cf. footnotes 47 and 50.

[61] The *latóxān* is a piece of soft wood, placed under the crusher in a sugar mill, and used for collecting juice.

Isneg reapers usually provide themselves with amulets, which they place in their *túput* (pouch) tied around the waist. The following are noteworthy: 243 782

Leaves of the *banitug*, a kind of forest tree with smooth leaves and white flowers, whose fruits and young leaves are edible. They prevent the bearer from feeling the pangs of hunger.

Katálin: a herbaceous vine with thick leaves, growing on the banks of rivers.

Palamian: a low herb, found almost anywhere.

Other amulets may be placed on the ***bañíbân*** (heap of rice) in the *sixây*:

Añímóy: A low herb, with small leaves and very hairy fruits, found all over the district.

Basáyial: A creeping herb, mentioned among the amulets of the *aligmamân*-basket.

Binôag: A low herb with white flowers, growing in forests.

Iput butît (literally: rat's tail): A grass, some two feet tall, probably a species of Setaria,[62] found almost anywhere. It keeps the rats from playing havoc with the palay.

Xipparippáw: Also mentioned among the ***aligmamân*** amulets. This herb is placed somewhere in the hearth, before the ***bañíbân*** has attained a considerable size.

Panápil: A low herb with round leaves, growing all over the district.

Thorns of the *surni-*, a plant mentioned before. It bears seeds that point downwards (hence its name: "turned the wrong way").

A ***tutûxan***, a kind of round red bead, must be placed under the *sixây*-hut and covered with a stone.

The following amulets prevent the people from consuming a large amount of rice, when taking their meals at harvesting time: 261 789

Anampát: A creeping herb growing along brooks. It resembles the Bermuda grass, but its leaves are larger and greener. The Isneg wrap it in a piece of cloth and tie it around the *bakôba-* (calabash for storing *baggât*, "husked rice") or around the neck of a jar that contains the rice.

Tagalobná- (Bayag pronunciation): A herb, some six inches tall, with small leaves, found almost anywhere. This also is placed on the receptacle for rice.

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[62] The Italian millet belongs to the same genus

remains after pounding) and some *asâp* (husks, what remains after 252 winnowing), and wrap them in a leaf; after they have come home, they hang the latter somewhere in the *baláwa* (place where they pound rice). The same is done when new rice (not *inixúbān*) is winnowed for the first time.

Then we have the *uglây*, which must be set apart before anything else, when *inixúbān* is being prepared for the first time. The *uglây* consists of at least three liters of *inixúbān* that have to be kept for the Pilay who resides in the house, near the hearth. After the harvest, however, human beings consume what the spirit has left.

Husked *inixúbān* that is not consumed immediately, is stored up in calabashes, the ordinary kernels in *bakóba-* (the usual receptacles for husked rice), the broken ones in *busíñgán* (a smaller kind of calabash). The latter must have *takkág*-amulets tied around the neck, and their contents are reserved for children to eat.

The Isneg eat the *inixúbān*[1] (*magdúm* or *manúm*) either with or 264 without viands. Sometimes, especially when children are around, 782 they put back in the mortar a certain amount of *inixúbān*, and pound it until it is reduced to powder; by mixing this flour with coconut meat, a kind of pudding (*limbá-*) is prepared that may be eaten either raw or cooked.

When you have been preparing *inixúbān* for the first time, this is the way to *magdúm* (to eat *inixúbān*): first, eat one mouthful of *inixúbān*, then pronounce the magic word *baríbarī*, and after that continue your meal in the ordinary way.

At this juncture one or both of the following prayers may be recited. The second one must be accompanied by an offering of some of the food (*maglappá-* or *magpísi-*).

Baríbarī di mapalpáli ya kanánmi (Baribari, our food is not easily consumed).

Baríbarī matugtugkíkami maggáni (Baribari, we harvest more and more).

Both texts were given me by *Yadán* from Nagbabalayan (O dialect, K branch).

The preparation of the *inixúbān* does not interfere with the usual routine of the harvest, and the reapers go on with their work until it is finished.

If you foresee that the amount of your palay will be very much 243 smaller than that of other years, so that it will hardly be possible to 789

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[1] [roasted immature rice. --Analyst]

243 789 call it an *ápit*,[63] have recourse to the following expedient: when you prepare *inapúxān*, do not take leaves of the betel pepper (*xawád*), but use young leaves of the *tabbág* (a species of Ficus) instead; this will cause your palay to increase notably.

When all your paddy has been reaped and the *bańībāń* (heap of palay) in your *síxăy* (hut) is complete, so that you are *nadanúg* (all your fields having been harvested), you are allowed to cut the *dogdógo* (Bayag pronunciation), which consists of a certain amount of palay that has been left standing near the *síxăy*.

The *xańgán* (called *láda* in some districts) or palay that was left standing here and there all over the field, because it was not yet ripe when the reapers came along, may be cut (*tudtúdan, magtudtúd*) later on, as soon as it has matured sufficiently. A part of the *xańgán*, however, must be abandoned to animals and spirits; to cut it all, is tabooed.

243 782 As soon as the harvest is over, a new set of spirits come on the scene: these are principally the *Daraxámi*, who knock on the *síxăy*-hut at night, when people are sleeping inside, so that the latter very often dream about them. Then there is *Maxabláy* or *Xinabláy*, who is fond of killing people at this time. An appropriate prayer to forestall the latter's machinations is the following. Its text was given me by *Daxidí* from Baliwanan (O dialect, Main branch).

Iápugko iyáw xinabláy ta dínaami al-aluwáy (I offer betel [for chewing] to you, Ginablay, so that you do not cut off any part of our body).

At this time of the year, the Isneg usually offer (*magpísi-*) food or *inapúxān* to those spirits that are most likely to exert some influence over them, whether for good or for evil. When such an offering is made at home, in the village, one or more of the following prayers may be recited:

Iápugko adaăyó idammáń ta dídaami umáń sidsidúńán (I offer betel [for chewing] to you, our enemies, so that you do not come under our house).

Iápugko adaăyó abulbulón magkálap ta dínaami tagtagōnońán (I offer betel to you, companions of those that get products from another district, so that you do not reduce our sustenance).

Iápugko adaăyó ńa anito ta tagapōliyánnu nidí an-aná- ta masăyánkami no pagbíli ni ugina (I offer betel to you, spirits, so that you forgive this child here, so that we be lessened when Ugina [64] wants us to make an offering).

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[63] The *ápit* is the amount of rice or of Indian corn that is reaped in one season, provided it be abundant; if scanty, it is never called an *ápit*.

Iápugko adańyó ńa maggupān ka zituldān nagirāb ka alatógān (I offer betel to you, who use a *zituldān*-pot [65] for a plate, and scrape out ood with an *alatógān*.[66]

All four of these texts were given me by *Umiló* from Abbil (O dialect).

When the *bańíbāń* (heap of palay) in the *sizăy*-hut is complete, a day is set apart for binding (*mamońó*) the *battá-* (bundles) of palay into *ésiń*, and for counting (*magkabókab*) the latter. Four *battá-* make one *ésiń* (*tańésiń*); one hundred *ésiń* make one *ńópo* (*mǵpo*).

Therefore some time between the last day of the regular harvest and the day of the *pońó* (binding) and the *kabókab* (counting), the Isneg gather young bamboos (*mańalipońó*) and cut them into bands for tying the *battá-* into *ésiń*.

On the day set apart for binding and counting, the Isneg, men and women, start for the field very early in the morning, at cockcrow. Once there, one of the men sticks a spear in the ground, not far from the door of the *sizăy*-hut, and then all enter and commence the work, accompanied by the spirit *Guyĕyāp*, who helps them in counting.

First of all, four *battá-* are taken from the *bańíbāń* and bound (*mamońó*) into an *ésiń*; then the tips of the straw of this *ésiń* are cut away (*magpagpág, pagpaggán*) with a hatchet, so that the straw of the bundle on top forms a smooth and even surface: all of which is performed by men. After that, one of the men takes hold of the bundle (*ésiń*), closes his eyes (*melagmiyá*), and goes outside to a place at some distance away from the *sizăy*, where he puts down the *ésiń*, without ever opening his eyes. Once rid of the bundle, he is allowed to open his eyes and find his way back. This *ésiń* is counted (*magkabókab*): one; it constitutes the first bundle (*ésiń*) of the *dattó* or row of counted *ésiń*. Treading on or passing over the *dattó* is absolutely forbidden: the Pilay punish all trespassers with fever (*daggáń*).

As soon as the first bundle has been attended to, the work goes on normally, all eyes open: the men bind (*mamońó*) the *battá-* into *ésiń* and cut off the tips of the straw (*magpagpág*) inside the hut, then they

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[64] A spirit.

[65] Cf. footnote 50.

[66] This is the same as the *latóǵań* of footnote 61.

343 112 hand the new bundles (*ésiń*) one by one to the women who are standing outside and who add them to the rest of the *dattó* (row); at the same time, these women keep track of the number of *ésiń*, calling out the new total after each addition.

In the afternoon, before going home, the workers pile up the *ésiń*-bundles into a *dattó* in a corner of the *sixāy*. The *dattó* (heap of counted *ésiń*) now replaces the *bańíbāń* (heap of uncounted *battá*-). Then they stick *inapúxān* on one of the barbs of the spear in front of the hut, pushing it upwards from the tip of the barb.

The next morning, early or late, they continue the work and, at the end of the day's work, bring the spear back home. From now on, binding and counting goes on without interruption until everything is finished. In some rare instances, this job is concluded in one day, in which case, of course, the spear is taken home in the evening of the same day.

While the work is in progress, a small amount of very fine soil (*dìbdibú*-), for instance that of an ant's nest, is wrapped in a piece of cloth and placed somewhere in the center of the *dattó* (in the *sixāy*), in order to prevent insects from destroying the palay heaped up there.

At this time it is the duty of every farmer to give to each of his neighbors two *ésiń* of palay, lest everything go wrong. This gift, called *píńil*, is a mere ceremony and has little or no practical value, as it is a mutual one and everybody has to reciprocate to the same amount.

In some districts, after the palay has been placed in rows outside the *sixāy* and counted, the Isneg immediately transfer all the bundles to the granary. But that is rather exceptional; in most places they proceed in the following way:

Once the *dattó* (heap of *ésiń*-bundles) is complete, the owners of the palay *lumpút*, which means: they stay at home for from one to three days, without returning to the hut. Should anybody infringe this taboo, and remain in or near the *sixāy* or go there after he has left, he is said to be enticed by the spirit *Daraxád*, the assistant of the *Daraxámi* mentioned before, and the poor man is liable to be devoured on the spot by these unearthly cannibals.

On one of those days, the owner of the house must sacrifice (*mamanít*) either a pig only or both a pig and a dog, without *maxaníto* (a shaman's communication with the spirits). The animals are killed somewhere near the granary, and their heads beaten against the building before they are severed from their bodies; then the victims (*pamanít*) are brought into the house and cut up. This sacrifice 243 guarantees a plentiful harvest for the next year. In some districts, 782 however, it is not offered by everybody indiscriminately, but only by those who have found out, after the counting, that the number of their bundles falls short of the crop they have been used to up till now, and consequently that it will be far from sufficient to last them until the next harvest.

When the days of forced absence from the *síxăy* are over, the palay is transferred in triumph to the *álań* or granary. If the real *álań* cannot be made ready in time, or if it is too small to harbor the whole crop, a *sipí* must be prepared beforehand. The *sipí* is a little hut made of light materials (bamboo, grass, etc.), more or less box-shaped, raised on posts, and covered with a lean-to roof.

In some villages, at Tawit for instance, only the inmates of the owner's house, men and women, are allowed to make this transfer. In others, all neighbors, men and women, may be invited to join; but this happens only, of course, when the palay is very abundant.

When all carriers have reached the *síxăy*, the *dattó* of palay is demolished, the bundles (*ésiń*) being brought outside and put in rows, and everybody prepares his or her load. It should be noted in this connection that the prohibition with reference to trampling on or passing over the *dattó* has never been suspended.

At the same time the Isneg collect all the amulets (*mamaldúń*) that have been placed at the *síxăy*, inside or outside, whether in the *aligmamán*-basket or over the *bańíbāń* and the *dattó*, and wrap them in a piece of cloth. This package will find its place in the granary together with the palay.

Detached grains and spikelets (*pannár* or *ranná*)[67] that remain in and under the *síxăy* and at the place outside the hut, where the palay has been counted and where the loads have been prepared, will be gathered later on, pounded, cooked and consumed by old men and women. If young people eat them, they grow old in no time. This restriction does not apply to the *ranná* of the granary.

Women place their load of palay in large baskets (*rańáy*, *rańáya* or 243 *balô-*: ordinary type, round rim, square bottom),[68] which they carry 482 on their heads (*magtotón*). Men tie on equal number of bundles to

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[67] The latter term is also applied to the detached grains and spikelets that are found in and under the granary.

[68] Also used for carrying tobacco, Indian corn, etc.

243 each end a pole (*isíw*),[69] which they carry on their shoulders
482 (*mańagtó*).

Before starting on their journey; the carriers insert a few *dáxiń*-herbs
in the straw of their load of palay, in order to keep them from all
243 harm. This is not a vain precaution, as there is at least one of the
782 numerous evil spirits in existence, namely *Nasígu*, who is especially
789 fond of annoying people who carry rice from the *síxăy* to the *álań*
(granary). If he finds them unprotected, he gives them a thrashing
by means of a stick which he is always carrying.

As soon as they arrive at the place of the granary (*álań*), the women empty their baskets and the men untie their loads, after which all bundles are piled up under the granary (*magdaligpán*).

Before the Isneg store their palay in the granary (*magpintá-*), they attend to the following:

Besides a few objects that ultimately find their place in the granary, as the *pinudóń*, the amulets taken from the *síxăy*, etc., and that have been mentioned before, they put inside:

Amintakkăn (from *pintá-*, "storing palay in the granary"): A low herb with very small leaves. It is placed on the floor of the granary.

Daraará-: A vine mentioned before among the amulets of the *aligmamăn*-basket in the *síxăy*-hut.

Inóá: A kind of herb. It is tied around one of the posts, inside the granary.

Pannó (literally: fullness, filling), mentioned before among the amulets of uncut paddy. This amulet causes the granary to be filled with rice.

The *pamintakkăn* (from *pintá-*, "storing palay in the granary"): The *pamintakkăn* is a *battá-* (one fourth of an *ésiń*) and the first of the rice just brought in that is introduced into the granary. It is provided with *takkăg*-vines (schizaeaceous ferns, often mentioned before) and *tagańrabón* (called *tagarabón* at Bayag), which is a kind of herb, some twelve inches tall, with very small leaves and white flowers, that grows in rocky places, along rivers and brooks, and prevents the rice from being consumed quickly. The *pamintakkăn* is placed in one of the two corners of the granary that are farthest away from the door.

When the time has come for storing the palay in the granary, the owner, the man, climbs inside, and his wife, standing outside, hands

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[69] A pole used for carrying loads between two persons is called *búlig*.

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him the bundles. Nobody else is allowed either to hand it in or to pile it up inside.

In a few places, however, either one of them, the woman or her husband, enters the granary, and anybody is permitted to handle the bundles outside; but the person who started piling the palay inside, must continue the work until it is concluded: nobody else is allowed to interfere.

When *inapúxān* is offered to the spirits at this time, the following prayers may be recited:

Iápugko iáw iwaxán ta umáññā- sidúñān (I offer betel [for chewing] to you, Iwagan, so that you come under my house).

Iápugko iáw xinadúlan ta umáññā- taxasinnán (I offer betel to you, Ginadulan, so that you come to look after me).

Iápugko iáw pílăy ta umaññā- pañitagtagkĕlăy ka ammăy dató adú wa ammáy (I offer betel to you, Pilay, so that you, limping, bring me rice from the large heaps of rice).[70]

Iápugko iáw duñgali ta umáññā- pagpili kadató ammáy atoní (I offer betel to you, Dunggali, so that you come to let me choose from the large heaps of rice there).

Iápugko iáw paluggatáñ ta abulonánnaami (I offer betel to you, Paluggatang, so that you be our companion).

Iápugko iáw añlabbáñ ta taráyannā- ka balláñ (I offer betel to you, Anglabbang, so that you prop me up with palma brava timber).

Iápugko iáw békat ta ipa-bágmo to sŏñān[71] (I offer betel to you, Bekat, so that you give me[72] tuskers).

Iápugko iáw da-nág ta bakkámmo ta-bân dăyá álig (I offer betel to you, Da-nag, so that you do not cover the *álig*-bees).

My informant, *Băydán* from Tawit (O dialect, Main branch), told me that these eight prayers were pronounced consecutively when storing rice in the granary, when cutting off the head of a dog in sacrifices, etc. The last three, however, and perhaps a couple of others, seem to have nothing to do with the rice crop.

The Isneg always tie some *takkág* (schizaeaceaus ferns) around the *lappó* (literally: thigh) or thick part of one of the four posts of the granary, below the floor, in order to increase the palay stored up there.

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[70] Rice you stole from those that have much rice.

[71] *Asóñ* means: tusk of wild boar.

[72] In answer to my prayer. *Ipa-bág* from *tabbág*, " answering ".

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There are a few other amulets that may be placed on the palay in the granary, at any time:

Aggassip: A low herb with white flowers, found all over the district. It causes the rice to last long.

Amagpaggáñ: A herb, some twelve inches tall, with small leaves, growing in forests.

Anaxupgó: A herb, some twelve inches tall, with small leaves, red flowers and brown fruits. It is found in the forest and, placed in the granary, helps the owners to economize their rice.

Anuyug: A herb, some eight inches tall, growing in forested areas.

Indág: A low herb, found almost anywhere.

Rakkód: A herb, growing all over the district.

When all the rice has been garnered, a small *báña*-jar containing rice pudding is placed in the filled *álañ* (granary), as an offering to Pilay. It is called *túxan*, the same name as that of the food brought to the reapers by a man (*manúxan*) from the village.

Finally the Isneg close the door of the granary and provide it with *takkág*-ferns and *adás*-sedges (Scleria sp.), at the outside.

III. The Isneg Garden

241 The garden or *kadánan* is a plot of ground where some time in the past rice has been grown. No garden plants are raised on virgin soil; rice always precedes them. Sometimes the *kadánan* has already served that purpose for one or more years, sometimes it is merely a *kómān* or part of a *kómān* from which rice has just been harvested.

Except for the necessity of having palay precede all other plants, the possibility or probability of raising successfully some special kind of plant on a given plot of ground is the only determinant for the choice of a garden plot. The Isneg merely studies the nature of the soil and its adaptability to the growing of certain products, according to his own experience or that of his elders.

The Isneg garden is always surrounded by a fence, either the usual one (*abút*) or, in case the man is too lazy to make a regular fence, the *baiakkawit* (strips of bamboo stuck in the ground at both ends so as to form a series of arches).

To prepare a garden, the first thing to be done is to clear the ground (*mañadanan*). When the garden is built on level ground, this work is called *maxónat*, just as in the case of a *kómān*. If the garden is new, that is, if it is made from a rice field that has just been harvested, the bulk of the weeds consists of *daxádag* (rice straw) or *sápi* (after-

539 Before I proceed, allow me to explain how Indian corn, taro and sweet potatoes, came to be known to the Isneg; this was related to me by *Magáyam* from Bayag (O dialect).

Adǒdit náyá mais siwǎy se ya kamóti

Story of the corn, taro and the sweet potato

Itó nabǎyǎg ga dagúnnin uwád da nasamúá ńa bisin iyá Apáyaw./ Adató tólǎy immínda ńámin to ładón ṅató ǻyo, wa namit a pagramanánda./ Kané no isá ńa aldáw napanda iyá unág nǎyá xinúbāt./ Tó ya naxasárakda ya adánan kiyá xinúbāt./ Itó unág nató adánan uwáda ńa talló baláxi ya múla./ Adató tólǎy sinónānda to mixin-adánan./ Kané no lumbét to mixin-adánan nagbaláwda ta lamán./ Nagbaláwda ta magúni to lamán./ Kasit-án nató lamán dató tólǎy no ińká- to gagára dató tólǎy./ Ṅam sumuńbát dató tólǎy yǎ umáńda ńa magsápul anánda mepagapó to bisin./ Ummǎń to lamán nagbálǎitó siwǎy mais se to kamóti./ Séna la mesúro to maúlúto se to magmúla kadató tólǎy./ Kané no malúto to siwǎy mait se to kamóti naṅánda./ Kané mabalinda maṅán iddán nató lamán dató tólǎy yá mais kamóti se to siwǎy ya imúlada./ T-o ya nasarákǎn dǎyá tólǎy ya ńáyan dǎyá mais kamóti se ya siwǎy.

Many years ago there was a severe famine in Apayaw./ The people consumed all the leaves of the trees whose taste was good./ Then one day they went inside the forest./ There they found a garden in the forest./ Inside the garden there were three kinds of plants./ The men got the owner of the garden./ Then, when the owner of the garden came, they were surprised, as it was a wild boar./ They were surprised as the wild boar talked./ The wild boar asked the men what was the desire of the men./ But the men answered that they came to look for their food on account of the famine./ The wild boar went to gather taro, corn and sweet potatoes./ Then he taught the men to cook and to plant./ Then, when the taro, corn and the sweet potatoes were cooked, they ate./ When they finished eating, the wild boar gave the men corn, sweet potatoes and taro for them to plant./ That is how the men found the name of the corn, sweet potato and the taro.

1. INDIAN CORN

243 The field, whether included in the general appellation *kadánan* (garden) or not, where Indian corn or *mait* (from the Spanish *maís*) is grown, is called *maitán* or *makitán*.

The bulk of Indian corn is planted (*maṁmait*) in the months of January and February, mostly immediately after the tobacco.

A small quantity is often planted all around the tobacco field, in order to have a certain amount of early *mait*, in which case it is called *páräy*.

The implements that are needed and the way the Isneg proceed whenever they plant Indian corn, are the same for both rice and corn, and have been treated extensively in the preceding pages. There also the prayers and other practices that are common to the raising of both *mait* and *ammáy* (rice), have been described at length; but none of them should be applied to *mait*, except when I expressly say so. This also obtains for the other products that will be mentioned hereafter.

When the corn has reached a height of from four to six inches, it is said to be *lulluxónan daddalaxḗtān*, which means literally: "under which the *daddalaxḗtān*-bird passes".

Stalks of Indian corn that produce only undeveloped ears, are called *xoripáń*: they are useless except for fodder. These together with the stalks that bear only male flowers (*paráy*), are sometimes cut by the men when they are still green. For this work the *alivá* or hatchet is used. To cut corn stalks, sugar cane, etc. at one stroke, is *magtaggád*. Ears of corn that have been partially consumed by crows, men, etc., are called *kúrēm*.

To prevent the crop from being ravaged by crows, the Isneg often wrap the ears in the leaves that grow next to them. They do this by twisting the leaves around the ears without detaching them from the stalk or *arotáń*.[74] Ears of corn that have been protected that way are called *pinudúl*.

The gathering of *mait* (*magmait*) usually takes place in the months of May and June.

Before beginning the work, some *darixará-* must be tied to one of the ears. The name *darixará-* is merely the Bayag variant of *daraará-*, vines that have been mentioned several times with reference to rice. This particular ear of corn is plucked only when all the rest has been harvested.

When gathering corn, the women tear off the ears (*magpüri* or *magpauwé-*) from the stalk or *arotáń*. Those that are to be consumed fresh, whether they will be roasted in ashes or cooked in water (corn on the cob), are brought home just as they are, that is, enveloped in their husks. Those that are to be stored up somewhere in the house for later use, are first dried in the sun. In order to cause them to dry thoroughly, the husks are pulled down (*magkusí-* or *maxusí-*: " to

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[74] A term applied to fleshy stalks, for instance those of Indian corn, tobacco, etc.

243 peel, to take off the skin"), the ear is stripped, and the silk (*buybúy*) is removed.

Women carry corn in baskets; men carry it on poles: to do this, they usually bind the ears in bundles of ten by means of the dried husks, leaving the stripped ears dangling underneath.

Ańrabón is stuck in one of the bunches of corn ears, at the place where they have been garnered, in order to cause the supply to last long. *Anrabón* is a variant of *taxańrabón*: this herb is used in rice granaries for the same purpose.

Of all the varieties of corn known to the Isneg, the most remarkable is the *simtó- ballít* (literally: bill of the *ballít*-bird), whose ears grow [265] at the top of the stalk (not at the side), and whose small grains are of a very dark purple hue. It is eaten especially by people who *mańgabí*, that is, who are in mourning and to whom rice is taboo.

Whenever the Isneg need corn, either to feed the chickens or to prepare corn meal for themselves, they shell it (*magburá-*) with the fingers and throw away the cobs (*ákal*) together with the dry husks that remain attached to them.

2. TARO

244 Taro or *siwày* (Colocasia esculentum, [L.] Schott.) is extensively cultivated by the Isneg. Besides the rhizome and the petioles (*pólon*), which are eaten all over the Philippines, the Isneg also consume the blades of the leaves (*atán*: entire leaf) of most all varieties raised by them. The inflorescence and the rootlets (*ramút*; also said of the roots of tubers: sweet potatoes, etc.) are the only parts of the taro that are useless.

The leaf blades are usually cut into shreds and cooked in bamboo tubes placed over the fire, where they are crushed with a pestle, together with chile: this dish, called *sinursúr*, is the specialty of Apayaw.

To plant taro (*magtuwág*), the woman uses the *paló-* (hoe), the *saguwá-* (dibble) or a special dibble called *itutuná-* or *intutuná-*, which consists of a very thick (sometimes up to four inches in diameter), long (sometimes up to two yards) and sharp stick of any kind of hard wood. The latter is also used for transplanting tobacco seedlings and for planting sugar cane, sweet potatoes, yams, etc. She digs or bores a comparatively large hole in the ground and inserts (*sulsúlān*) a *xábit*, which consists of a shoot to which the upper part of the rhizome, cut off from the rest, is left attached. Besides *xábit*, suckers or *ároy*

The vegetables may be: tomatoes, egg- 262
plants, squash, peppers, corn, beans, camote, gabi, or [244
yams. Fruits may be: bananas, coconuts, pineapples, 245]
jack fruit, oranges, lemons, guavas, melons, *lucban,*
mangoes, or papaya. The beverages may be: coffee, [272]
cocoa, or water. Honey is included in the diet. From [263]
sugar cane are produced candied fruits and vegetables,
molasses, *basi,* and vinegar. A strong tobacco is raised 276
and smoked—sometimes in a small pipe; but generally
one leaf is rolled into a small cigar. Both men and
women smoke. Boys and girls start smoking at an
early age.

In growing these things, the people do not use ir- 311
rigation; but follow the *kaiñgin* method of farming. 241
A suitable piece of wild land is selected. The vegetation [312]
is cut down, allowed to dry, and then burnt. Seeds
are planted in the ashen earth by making a hole with
a sharp stick and dropping a seed in it. The plot is [417]
is enclosed with a bamboo fence. The men clear and [462]
fence the land, while the women do much of the rest
of the work. In two years the soil has become leached
and packed by the heavy tropical rains and so sterile
that a new *kaiñgin* is made elsewhere.

The rice is an upland variety which does not re- 243
quire much water. The seeds are planted during the
beginning of the rainy season in April and May. When
ripe, the heads are cut off by hand, using a miniature
aliwa. These heads are gathered into bundles, tied, and [251
then stored in a specially built square granary whose 343]
architectural design follows that of the house. Tobacco 249
and vegetables are usually planted during January af- 244
ter the harvest, in the *kaiñgins* where rice was grown.

When the woman wishes some rice to cook, she 252
threshes several bundles on a mat or skin with a club; 412